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PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH
WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND
AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the co-operation of the Classical Association of New England and the Classical Association of the Pacific States

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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Editorial

THE AMERICAN CLASSICAL LEAGUE

Dean West, of Princeton University, while fully recovered from his recent illness, found that he could not continue to give the large amount of time and energy needed for the presidency of the American Classical League. Accordingly he notified the Council of the League to this effect. At a largely attended meeting of the Council held on November 6 the future policy of the League and the selection of a new president were fully considered. In view of the gratifying results already achieved and of the favorable prospects for further advances, it was unanimously decided that efforts should be made to secure for the work of the League a permanent endowment so that the gains already made might be increased and strengthened. A great deal has already been accomplished. The results of the Classical Investigation are already apparent in a widespread improvement in the classical teaching in our schools. While the number of students of Greek is still deplorably small, it is increasing, and the students of Latin in our schools outnumber the students enrolled in any or all other foreign languages. The Latin enrolment is enormous. New textbooks based on findings of the Classical Investigation are frequently appearing, and the new regulations of the College Entrance Examination Board for entrance examinations in Latin are also based on these findings. While much more remains to be

done, these are very substantial gains which are full of promise for the future.

At the meeting of the Council referred to above, Professor Ralph V. D. Magoffin, of New York University, was elected President of the League to succeed Dean West. As President Magoffin takes up his important task, he should receive the heartiest co-operation from every friend of classical education. All communications should be addressed to *American Classical League, New York University, University Heights, New York City.*

SOME ASPECTS OF THE CHARACTER OF DIDO¹

By ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE
Amherst College

It is perhaps one of the characteristics of really great poetry that it is never so completely perspicuous that two different readers can wholly agree as to its meaning. In fact, a poem whose thought is as logical and unequivocal as a geometrical proposition may delight us on a first reading by its cleverness of expression or its accurate depiction of the truth, but is less likely to attract to a rereading and stimulate the imagination than one less clear-cut, but more suggestive, yes, even more tantalizing and puzzling. This being so, if critics discover in a masterpiece ideas but indistinctly expressed, we should be slow to pronounce them wrong, even though we may on historic grounds feel doubt whether the poet himself intended just those thoughts. The poet and the prophet — each a *vates* — are alike mouthpieces of the divine *afflatus*; why should there not be granted to the interpreters of the one as properly as to those of the other a "progressive revelation"? According to Plato's *Ion*, the divine inspiration passes on from muse to poet and poet to rhapsode and rhapsode to audience, so that we perhaps have the right to ascribe even to the interpreter some of the apocalyptic power of the poet. And if a poet intend certain connotations in his work, may not the critic be allowed to suggest yet others, provided these be not contradictory to the more evident meaning? Surely criticism has ever since its origin been busied with such, and if it is now to be estopped the poets will have to furnish for their works a duly accredited set of scholia. With this apology for perhaps reading into an ancient author more than another might concede there, let me approach my subject.

¹ Read at a meeting of the Western Massachusetts Section of the Classical Association of New England, at Deerfield Academy, October 31, 1925.

The *Aeneid* as a whole is a poem of conflict. *Tantae molis erat* are significant words standing near its beginning, and as one thinks of it, book by book, and recalls the obstacles lying before the Trojan hero — the destruction of his city, the loss of his wife, treacherous Greeks, unnatural monsters, storms and other perils of the sea, discouragement, accident, death of his comrades and even of his beloved father, the penetration of the underworld, and, finally, the task of planting his new state amid a reluctant and hostile race — he might be reminded of St. Paul's catalogue of sufferings by shipwreck, journeyings, waters, robbers, and the rest.² Most of Aeneas's obstacles were external, yet midway among them lay that even greater test, that more insuperable obstacle to the accomplishment of his purpose, the temptation from a tender affection which might well have proved disastrous where mightier outside forces had failed. And just as the interest in many a Greek tragedy is enhanced by the retardation of either action or recognition, so in this poem, with its abundant tragic elements, the reader's suspense is kept tense by this same means, particularly in the case of the highly personal incident of the fourth book.

It is often stated that character drawing in the *Aeneid* is defective or lacking, and that the use of stock epithets, like *fidus* applied to Achates, and the introduction of many names entirely uncharacterized — *nomina nuda*, as the botanist would call them — are defects in Virgil's art. Possibly this is so, yet these rather colorless figures were perhaps intentionally chosen to represent the trusty but somewhat featureless citizenry and the accurately regimented but rather unindividual soldiery by whose often anonymous agency Rome rose and was maintained. And may not the lack of characterization elsewhere in the *Aeneid* also conduce to focus attention upon its more striking occurrence in the fourth book? For there, more clearly than elsewhere, are the tragic elements massed into a really tragic situation, and of tragedy, as Aristotle reminds us,³ character is an important part.

² II Cor. 11: 23-27.

³ *Poet.* 6. 15. Nettleship (*Lectures and Essays* (1885), 130) considers Virgil's purpose not the delineation of character but the showing of a conflict of forces.

An Epicurean disputant of Cicero's⁴ sneeringly remarks that Chrysippus so explained on allegorical grounds the stories of Musaeus, Hesiod, and Homer, to make them agree with Stoic theology, that even the most ancient poets, who had no suspicion of such beliefs, appeared to have been Stoics. This is a useful caution in procedure, yet we must remember that in Virgil's time Stoicism was not a yet-to-be-promulgated doctrine but one of the two most important schools of thought. It is without surprise, then, that we find Aeneas exhibiting in a striking manner the chief characteristics of the Stoic, such as "reverent regard for destiny and submission to Jove, who represents destiny on its personal side. He can therefore never play the part of the hero in revolt; but at the same time he is human, and liable to those petty weaknesses and aberrations from which even the sage is not exempt. He can hesitate or be hasty, can love or weep; but the sovereignty of his mind is never upset. In a happy phrase Virgil sums up the whole ethics of Stoicism:"⁵

Mens immota manet; lacrimae volvuntur inanes.⁶

Such submission to divine will combined with such self-repression easily gives the appearance of wooden impassivity, which is a fatal quality for a tragic hero, and many of the critics who condemn Aeneas do so, not on the ground of his feeling for Dido, but for what they consider his unfeeling attitude, even going so far in some instances as to assert that he was never in love with Dido at all. Again, it is sometimes felt that Aeneas is an uninteresting hero in that his character shows no apparent development from the beginning to the end of the Dido story. Neither of these criticisms, I think, is just. That Aeneas suppresses his emotion is no proof that he does not feel it, as the line quoted well indicates, but rather an indication of self-sacrificing

⁴ *N. D.* 1. 41.

⁵ Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (1911), 391 (quoted with approval by Fowler, *Death of Turnus* (1919), 44-45, who thinks it applies equally well to the twelfth book). Ranzoli, *La Religione e la Filosofia di Virgilio* (1900), 144, emphasizing the ascetic elements in Aeneas, thinks him the type of Platonic sage.

⁶ *Aen.* 4. 449. Cf. also the Stoical attitude shown in 4. 331-332, 340-341, 361.

devotion, to family (in the person of Ascanius), country (in the persons of his followers), and duty, a devotion more sincere and more in keeping with Stoic ethics when so closely concealed that it appears in but a line or two than if its struggles had been ostentatiously blazoned over many pages. And if a character has to be inconsistent to be interesting, then Aeneas is a failure: but were we to increase his inconsistency we should diminish his Stoic qualities and endanger that very self-control which for him, as for some later Puritans, is the cardinal virtue. Altogether, then, it is hard to escape the feeling that Virgil, who might easily have chosen another type of hero, like Achilles, Odysseus, Ajax, or Prometheus, deliberately chose to portray as typical of what Rome stood for the characteristically Stoic figure of Aeneas.

Opposed to him stands Dido, passionately human, as all admit; grievously wronged, as perhaps the majority of readers hold, while another group would regard her as an enchantress, like Calypso,⁷ a temptress, like Eve, a seducer, like Cleopatra,⁸ or a mere adventuress in wait for a marriageable and warlike widower⁹ highly desirable for a defenceless female in the midst of barbarous neighbors.¹⁰ But if Aeneas is the type of Stoic, may we not see in Dido the representative of the other regnant school of thought, Epicureanism? Here, as with Aeneas, the indications are subtle rather than express; indeed it is doubtful if Virgil, with all the anachronisms permitted to ancient poetry, would have deliberately projected obtrusively and narrowly Epicurean doctrines into the heroic period.¹¹ Yet it may be recalled that Dido's court bard,

⁷ Cf. Warton, *Hist. of Engl. Poetry*, new ed. 2 (1824), 17, n.

⁸ Arnold, *l.c.*; Crump, *The Growth of the Aeneid* (1920), 62.

⁹ Cf. Fowler, *Roman Essays and Interpretations* (1920), 183-188; also his *Relig. Experience of the Roman People* (1911), 414; *Gathering of the Clans* (1916), 40. For examples of various views cf. Knapp in *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, 19 (1924), 206-207; the fairer view of Ogle in *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, 20 (1925), 261-270 (cf. Bassett in *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, 21 (1925), 45-46).

¹⁰ So Anna to Dido in 4. 39-49; there is less indication that this idea was prominent in Dido's mind.

¹¹ The Epicureanism to be seen in the anonymous epistle of Dido to Aeneas (*Anth. Lat.* 83), as noted by Miss Chubb in her edition of that poem (1920), 31, is, of course, quite without bearing upon Virgil's treatment.

Iopas, in the first book¹² sings to Dido and her guests a song whose theme is distinctly scientific: the wandering moon and the labors of the sun; whence came the human race and that of the brutes, whence the rain and the fires, Arcturus, and the rainy Hyades and the twin Triones; why the suns of winter so hasten to dip themselves in Ocean, or what delay obstructs the slowly passing nights. This has been explained as an indication of Epicureanism on the part of the poet himself,¹³ but were that so it would have been better placed in the lips of a Trojan spokesman; if there is any trace of Epicurus about it — which is not at all certain — it is to give us an inkling of the views of Dido and her court. Belief in the gods Epicureans, of course, professed, and prayer and worship they accorded to the deities,¹⁴ so that the frequent references to gods need not surprise us; but when we find Dido sarcastically remarking,¹⁵ "Doubtless that is the toil of the gods above, that the care which disturbs their placid lives," the suggestion of Epicureanism crops out, prevailing over the untutored and less philosophic views which she elsewhere expresses, and when Anna almost sneeringly inquires whether she supposes that the ashes of Sychaeus appreciate the devotion of his widow she is encouraging an Epicurean sort of rationalism to prevail over Dido's natural inclinations.

But apart from these small hints — and for Virgil to have made them more definite or more consistent would have been to thrust back Epicurean dogmas into a period when they would have been blatantly out of place — apart, I say, from these hints is the greater consideration that Dido represents, in contrast to the self-control or self-repression of Aeneas, the life of emotional

¹² *Aen.* 1. 742-746.

¹³ Frank in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 41 (1920), 118. In *Classical Weekly*, 15 (1921), 3, I maintained that this poem contains no cosmic doctrine, either Epicurean or Stoic, and to this view I still adhere, for such would have been too bold an anachronism; that Virgil intended by it, however, to suggest the kind of subject which interested Epicurean poets is likely enough.

¹⁴ Hadzsits, "The Significance of Worship and Prayer among the Epicureans" (in *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* 39 (1908), 73-88); but cf. Bailey, "The Religion of Lucretius" (in *Proc. of the (Engl.) Class. Assoc.* 19 (1922), 19-25).

¹⁵ *Aen.* 4. 379-380.

self-expression, as she herself seems to acknowledge, though too late, when she recognizes that she should not have attempted to live her own life.¹⁶ Amid the luxury of her court — the report of which Rumor published abroad — she subordinated to her passionate desire alike her loyalty to the memory of her dead husband¹⁷ and her responsibility toward her living subjects. It is significant that Aeneas's thought is increasingly directed forward to his state that is to be, while Dido seems to consider her duty to the infant Punic city as either completed or negligible, though her less romantic and more practical-minded sister is awake to the political advantages of a union with the military power of Aeneas.¹⁸ This supplanting of conscience by desire, this heedless collision with all that stood in the way of emotional self-expression, though, of course, far from the temperate and almost austere life of Epicurus himself, was not, I think, an unfair picture of many of those followers of his who won for the term "Epicurean" its less favorable meaning.

If we turn for a moment to Virgil's own experience we shall observe the often remarked fact of his youthful Epicureanism, succeeded, as most scholars would hold,¹⁹ by a conversion to views of a different sort. Whether these are to be defined as Stoic,²⁰

¹⁶ *Aen.* 4. 550-552.

¹⁷ I think that Virgil, with a distaste for second marriages not unique among Roman writers and increasingly vehement in early Christianity, regarded the infidelity of Dido to the memory of Sychaeus as almost as culpable as the weakness of Aeneas for her; cf. 4. 24-29, 552; Boissier, *Roman Africa* (Engl. trans., 1899), 67-69; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 2 ed. (1915), 125-126; Ogle in *CLASS. JOURN.* 20 (1925), 261-265.

¹⁸ *Aen.* 4. 39-46. Anna also is the one who clearly recognizes the political effects of Dido's suicide (4. 682-683). It was left to extra-Virgilian tradition to relate the fate of Carthage after it was left by Dido's death without a ruler.

¹⁹ The thesis vigorously championed by Frank (in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 41 (1920), 115-126; cf. also DeWitt, *Virgil's Biographia Litteraria* (1923), 84-85). That Virgil's Epicureanism extended through his life cannot be said to represent the most widely accepted view; cf., for example, Garrod in *English Literature and the Classics* (1912), 157-158; Conway, *New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 100-104; Pease in *Classical Weekly*, 15 (1921), 2-5; Heinze in *Neue Jahrb.*, 51-52 (1923), 4; Sikes, *Roman Poetry* (1923), 182; Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes* (1924), 151-152.

²⁰ E.g., Pease, *op. cit.*

Platonic,²¹ or eclectic,²² depends, in large measure, upon one's analysis of the eschatology of the sixth book of the *Aeneid* and the degree to which one considers it as representative of the poet's own philosophic creed. His interest in philosophy is further indicated by the statement of the Donatus *Vita* of his intention, after the completion of the *Aeneid*, of devoting the remainder of his life to the study of philosophy — whether or not to produce a counterblast to the work of his greatly admired model, Lucretius, we can but speculate. But with such a philosophic interest well attested are we not the more justified in detecting in the fourth book of the *Aeneid*, as in the sixth, a philosophic substratum? The sympathy which he shows for Dido (a sympathy which has even been explained as Virgil carried away despite himself by his own literary creation, to the consequent damage of his proper hero²³) is the more intelligible if we compare it to the rich associations he may well have retained for his outgrown youthful Epicureanism, in which, as in the character of Dido, there was doubtless much that was attractive and tender. But, as J. R. Green excellently points out,²⁴ in his very discriminating study of this book, to Virgil's Stoicism passion — the revolt of the individual self against the world order — seemed a trivial thing. Woman, with all her loveliness, lacked for him the grandeur of man's constancy to an unselfish purpose; *varium et mutabile semper*. The stuff of which the old Roman worthies were made and which had made Rome great is typified in Aeneas, imperfectly when he yields to Dido's charms, perfectly when he overcomes them. If it be asked why he ever yielded, the answer is almost obvious: without the yielding we could have had no clear indication that Dido constituted for him any real spiritual temptation or any hindrance to the fulfillment of his mission.²⁵

²¹ Keble, *Lectures on Poetry*, 2 (Engl. trans., 1912), 445.

²² Ranzoli, *La Religione e la Filosofia di Virgilio* (1900), 189.

²³ Keith, "The Dido Episode" (in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 21 (1922), 68). This article contains some acute observations, but with its general conclusion, that Virgil recognized but rebelled against inexorable destiny, I cannot agree.

²⁴ *Stray Studies from England and Italy* (1876), 272.

²⁵ Cf. DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 31, who

Character is formed and strengthened by the mastery of temptation; in life the temptation may, however, be so suppressed as to be known to none save the tempted, and hence nipped in the bud before disastrous effects. Such suppressed desires, such internal combustion, if I may be allowed such an expression, however appropriate when described in a modern psychological novel, an ancient epic poet would have found it hard to reveal in a convincingly objective manner; in Dido's case the outward and visible signs of the inward and spiritual convulsion were more easily depicted. Virgil's method with Aeneas was delicately and somewhat indirectly to suggest his hero's impulsive lapse and then to emphasize his recovery from it. At this point a modern would probably have stressed the pathology as much as the convalescence, or, again, with the precedent of romance and chivalry behind him, would perhaps have made Aeneas's first duty that to Dido, and this is, I think, consciously or unconsciously, the feeling of most of the severer critics of the character of Aeneas.²⁶ But Virgil is not only more delicate but also more straightforward. To have elaborated Aeneas's passion for Dido would have added no element of real value to the story, and for a Roman, and especially a Roman of that older type which the reforms of Augustus more or less mechanically, and the poetry of Virgil more artistically, were striving to restore, confronted with the alternatives of duty to an individual, however near or dear, and responsibility to the state, there could be but one right choice, the preferring of public duty to private inclination. *Invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi*²⁷ says Aeneas to Dido at their meeting in the underworld, and we have no reason to suppose that Virgil meant this as a mere phrase of politeness.

If, then, we are at all justified in seeing beneath the characters of Aeneas and Dido a hint of those two philosophies of life thinks that Aeneas had no real love for Dido. This view is well refuted by Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 2 ed. (1915), 123, n.i. Heinze also emphasizes the delicacy of Virgil's treatment of the feelings of Aeneas, and seeks its cause in a desire not to show his hero in too unfavorable a light.

²⁶ E.g., Miss Matthaei, *Studies in Greek Tragedy* (1918), 157, who fails, however, to realize Virgil's duties as a writer of epic rather than pure drama; cf. Heinze, *op. cit.* 124, n.

²⁷ *Aen.* 6. 460.

which, deliberate or merely instinctive, have characterized men from the age of Deucalion and Pyrrha to the present, can there be any doubt as to Virgil's appraisal of their relative worth? Sympathetic with the losing side he certainly is, and his feeling for Dido may be well paralleled by that with which he describes the persons and the pathetic deaths of those fair young foes of Aeneas, Camilla and Lausus.²⁸ But that his hero sets forth from Carthage completely in the wrong, and that all subsequent Roman history, including the claims of the Julian succession, rests on an initial injustice which even the valor of Hannibal is unable to redress is surely far from Virgil's meaning. It has been customary to see in Dido's prayer that some avenger might arise from her bones²⁹ an allusion to Hannibal and a motivation for that enmity of Rome and Carthage which culminated in the Punic Wars. This is obvious and correct; but may there not also have been, for the poet and the Roman reader inquisitive of deeper allusions, another and more general *vaticinium post eventum* underlying the whole book: that state whose philosophy is the hedonistic self-expression typified by its foundress Dido, however attractive or brilliant it may be, must fall before that more sober and self-controlled civilization represented by Aeneas, which builds its actions upon the foundation of fidelity to divine purpose?³⁰

And to a yet further stage I would press the significance of Dido. The Punic Wars were, when Virgil wrote, a peril of the remote past, and with them Hannibal and his mythical ancestress Dido were a dead issue, yet the character of Dido had even lately appeared resurgent, not merely as incorporated in the charming but perilous temptress Cleopatra, who had, in her turn, been met,

²⁸ Warren, *Vergil in Relation to the Place of Rome in the Hist. of Civilization* (1921), 26 (as noted in *Classical Weekly*, 18 (1924), 42); Ogle in *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, 20 (1925), 270; also cf. DeWitt in *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, 20 (1925), 482, for the view that a hero who surmounts a crisis is less attractive than one who meets disaster.

²⁹ *Aen.* 4. 625.

³⁰ Cf. Fowler, *Relig. Experience of the Roman People* (1911), 411-412; the overcoming of bad individualism (of Dido, Mezentius, and Turnus) and taming his own to the service of the state is the duty of Aeneas; also cf. Woodberry, *Great Writers* (1912), 132-133; Glover, *Virgil* (1912), 175, for hero and heroine as types of the conflict of Oriental and Western ideals.

coquetted with, and sternly abandoned, but much more dangerously in that passionate luxury of the Orient, which more and more threatened as a fatal obstruction to the destined progress of Rome. As Green well remarks:³¹

Virgil saw in the character of Dido herself a danger to Rome's future far greater than the sword of Hannibal. . . . Passion, greed, lawless self-seeking, personal ambition, the decay of the older Roman sense of unselfish duty, of that "pietas" which subordinated the interest of the individual man to the common interest of the state, this was henceforth to be the real enemy of Rome. More and more, as the Roman peace drew the world together, the temper of the East, the temper which Virgil has embodied in his sketch of Dido, would tell and tell fatally on the temper of the West. Orontes — to borrow Juvenal's phrase — was already flowing into Tiber, and the sterner virtues of the conquerors were growing hourly more distasteful beside the variety, the geniality, the passionate flush and impulse of the conquered.

Teachers of the classics are all interested in making them real to modern readers, in finding analogies of thought or situation between past and present, and in this mediation of old and new there are few authors to compare with Virgil, as those vividly realized who, during the World War, were trying to elucidate the last lines of the first book of the *Georgics*. In discussions of the Dido story, however, they have too often been content to arouse sympathy for the heroine and to suggest, or at any rate to tolerate, dislike or contempt for Aeneas, thereby failing to make clear the larger issues involved. The excuse for the present paper is to be found in the fact that, despite the judgments of scholars in defence of Aeneas, the popular view still inclines to regard him as a poltroon, showing that further protest is needed. Yet in an age of extreme toleration of all self-expression, however abnormal or pathologic, of sentimental and even hysterical sympathy for the brilliant and often fascinating persons who indulge in it, and of neglect of the sterner, more austere, and less picturesque virtues of self-control and devotion to ideals of rectitude, what more timely than this sketch of the fruits, as Virgil saw them, of these two sharply contrasted philosophies of life?

³¹ *Op. cit.* 281. Cf. also what Ruskin says (*The Bible of Amiens*, Library ed., 33 (1908), 97, n.) on what Africa has typified through history.

LATIN AS A SOCIAL SUBJECT

By DORRANCE S. WHITE
Ann Arbor High School

A good teacher, devoted to the cause of history and civics, once said in the presence of the writer: "We have felt the need of greater emphasis upon the social sciences in our curriculum and shall provide for this by making certain social studies, such as civics and the history of the United States, compulsory. In that event, Latin undoubtedly will have to yield its place, especially in the third and fourth years of the work. For subjects which do not bear upon the social side of the lives of our high-school boys and girls cannot hope to maintain a commanding position in the education of modern youth."

This sentiment prevailed among many leading educators, and in some sections of the country, where the study of civics and history was made compulsory, students who were confronted with the alternative of carrying Cicero as an extra subject or failing in courses required for graduation dropped the study of Latin at the end of the second year. This decimation of the Latin ranks was particularly severe during the period of the World War, when any vehicle for the teaching of patriotism was eagerly sought out and dubbed a social science.

It must be confessed that an adequate development of this subject would involve a paper of the magnitude of a master's dissertation. And although the value of such a paper would be largely refutative, since the body of literature which sets forth the immediate and ultimate objectives of the study of Latin is already large, the enumeration of specific passages properly designated as having social values would be of undoubted help to inexperienced teachers. And such a paper should prove (I do not say would

prove) a close-fitting muzzle upon the noisy lips of those who lay claim without proof that the study of Latin does not bear a practical, important, and immediate relation to the educative objectives of our secondary schools. The scope of this paper, according to the time allotted it, can be scarcely more than an outline. I shall attempt to give a definition and show the function of the social sciences; to try to explain that the social virtues developed in the study of Latin are both civic and personal; to prove that an ideal citizenship is constantly held before the pupil by the Latin content and that Latin studies emphasize in the personal element self-control and religious feeling.

Educators are not nearly agreed as to what the social sciences are or ought to be. Nor are they agreed as to whether the social sciences should be taught as a separate study or whether a number of subjects on our present curriculum should be taught with social intent. Since civics and history, two subjects agreed upon as social sciences, are the subjects which have generally supplanted Latin, it were best to confine our attention to these and examine our Latin field to find out whether we do not contribute a like body of knowledge and develop like social attitudes. And since our body of knowledge is admittedly civic and historical, even though our skills are remote from that of the social sciences (for our skill is the increasing ability to translate and understand Latin), we shall confine our attention to the discussion of whether or not we develop attitudes of like nature to those of the social sciences.

Dr. Ernest Horn, contributing to the *Twenty-Second Year-Book of the National Society for the Study of Education* on the subject, "The Application of Methods of Research to Making the Course of Study in History," writes: "The tendency at present seems to be to accept the proposal that the materials in history be selected and organized to contribute to the fullest degree to the intelligent interpretation of the social life of the present and near future, to an appreciation of its values, and to the solution of its problems." Mr. R. W. Hatch, writing in the same book on the subject, "A Program for the Social Studies in the Junior and

Senior High Schools," gives as his outline of civics which, with history and geography, would make up a social-science course: "The growth of nationalism; the development of constitutional government; the work of democracy; how we are governed: city, state, nation; projects in citizenship and current events." Mr. Hatch adds further: "As a teacher of history for many years, I have come to feel that history is not doing for our young citizens what the Committee of Seven said history should do." He cites in explanation of this the report issued in 1899 which contained the following objective of history: "It is true that any subject which aids the pupil to think correctly, to be accurate and pains-taking, which awakens his interest in books and gives him resources within himself, in reality fits him for good and useful citizenship. History cultivates the judgment by leading pupils to see the relation between cause and effect."

These citations easily show that the educationalists, however uncertain about details of objective and content, see in the social studies as main objectives what we Latinists have contended for decades have been among our most important by-products, the ability to think accurately and the habit of taking pains; to arouse a pupil's interest in books and give him resources within himself — all of which will "in reality fit him for good and useful citizenship." Another good social-science man adds patriotism and the prevention of provincialism. Yet another would add love of beauty in all its broadest and best sense. And we feel perfectly at home in this list, do we not?

For years, in fact, have Latin teachers been conscious of the function of their subject in directing youth into a proper appreciation of civic duty and patriotism. Who of us older teachers does not recall that period of American history some fifteen years ago when the arrogance of a Mexican chieftain strongly paralleled that of Ariovistus and Latin classes were led into discussion of the proper qualities of a man suited to live in proximity to a nation which believed in the exercise of national self-control and the sanctity of the diplomatic oath? When a few years later the

I. W. W.'s threatened to tangle up our governmental machinery at a time when so much depended upon protected granaries, munition factories, and shipyards, Catiline and his henchmen were insidiously plotting in translations, effective, even if crude, the murder of patriotic Romans and the destruction of the established order of government. The appointment of an ambassador who was without public approval, and the popular support of Pompey's demand that he be represented by a man of his own choice;¹ the corrupt governor who misused public funds for personal gain,² and one of our own governors who has been sent up for a similar misuse of public confidence (and one or two others who ought to be there) — these are examples of parallel, or near-parallel, ancient and modern history which may be understood by youth in their 'teens. When Wilson was calling the nations to a more ideal conception of international relationship, Vergil was extolling Augustus' reign and the grandeur of a Rome at peace with the world. All through the works which we translate with our classes and which we assign as supplementary reading abound passages which elevate the virtuous life, emphasize patriotic duty, show the folly of irreligious living and the need of self-control in our relations with our fellow men.

"Tying up the study with present-day life" is a common expression among advocates of social science. It would indeed be a dull and unresourceful teacher of Latin who did not employ present events to enliven past occurrences and point out the present lack of civic virtue and civic interest in comparison with the eternal vigilance of Catiline's prosecutor. Sympathizers with President Wilson's policy of watchful waiting, with his insistence that patience and forbearance on the part of a nation were as imperative as the same virtues in an individual, might well point out the similar virtue in Cicero's determination to withhold the strangling noose from Catiline's neck so long as a single citizen could be found so abandoned of civic righteousness as to deny that Catiline deserved to die a traitor's death.

¹ *Manilian Law* 19. 57.

² *Manilian Law* 13. 37.

Social science unquestionably must teach the civic value of an ideal citizenship. It were not rightly named if it did not. But what is an ideal citizen? Well, is not the biography of any truly great man a recommendation of his citizenship? And do not the biographical selections from Eutropius, Nepos, Aulus Gellius, and others with which our more modern second-year books abound unconsciously tend to inculcate lessons of good citizenship? Consider Nepos' story of Phocion, an Athenian statesman who could not be bought, a selection found in a Latin text of recent vintage. Phocion was a poor man who might have been very wealthy had he accepted the honors and powers which had been proffered him. When he refused a handsome sum of money which King Philip had sent him, ambassadors reminded him that he ought to accept it out of consideration for his children, who would be the better able thereby to serve their country well. "If they shall be like me," he replied, "this same little field which has brought me to this dignified position will support them; if they are destined to be unlike me, I am unwilling for their extravagance to be supported and augmented by my money."

Running through this same text, I find a page adapted from Cicero's *De Officiis* on good citizenship. It opens with the thought, as you will recall, that no place should be more precious than one's country. It is more important than parents, children, relatives, and most intimate friends. For it, one should not hesitate to suffer death. The proper duty of a public official is to realize that he should uphold its dignity, guard its laws, administer justice, and remember those duties which have been intrusted to his care. And even though the private possessions or the talents of all people cannot of necessity be equal, still every man ought to have as fair a chance to acquire and to be gifted as any other. The very heart and soul and feelings of the state are dependent upon its laws. And even as the body is useless unless directed by the mind, so the state is without control unless guided by just laws. In fact, the very foundation of justice is loyalty and good faith. So writes Cicero in a passion of patriotism.

And it is doubtful if there is any better admonition for our youth in the best-ordered textbook of civics in print today.

How corrupt was Roman officialdom in 63 B.C? Cicero implies it in the words:³ "Once there was, once I say, such sense of virtue in the affairs of state, that our men punished a wicked citizen with a more severe penalty than they inflicted on their bitterest enemy." And a little later⁴ he bursts out with the words which every student of Cicero remembers: "Immortal gods! Where in the world are we! Right here before me in the senate are men who are plotting the destruction of the city and of the whole world!" The opportunity is not usually lost to ask whether there has not been a time in the history of our own country, when Tories were obstructing the statesmen of '76, when Copperheads tried to paralyze the efforts of the Unionists, when ultra-radicals, and some not so ultra, advised against enlistments and the draft, giving hope and comfort to the now bearded dweller in Doorn, that similar words might have been equally fitting.

- Cicero hated the inactive statesman who cowered before wrongdoers, as he suggests in the words:⁵ "But we, brave men that we are, think that we are performing our duty sufficiently well when we merely avoid the frenzy of his (Catiline's) weapons." Thus the senate had a decree against Catiline severe enough to rid the republic of that knave,⁶ if the senators and other officials, lukewarm in their consciousness of civic duty, had the courage to act. The prohibitory law has revealed just such timidity today among enforcement officials and the same kind of indulgent public condones the bootlegger's lawlessness as that one clad in toga and tunic "strengthened the growing conspiracy by not believing that it existed."⁷ The temptation is irresistible here to ask a class to cite instances from past and current American history to illustrate this force which attempts to nullify pure-food laws, to block child-

³ *Cat. i. 1. 3*: fuit, fuit . . . coercerent.

⁴ *Cat. i. 4. 9*: O di immortales . . . cogitent.

⁵ *Cat. i. 1. 2*: Nos, autem, fortes viri . . . vitemus.

⁶ *Cat. i. 1. 3*: Habemus senatus . . . vehemens et grave.

⁷ *Cat. i. 12. 30*: Qui spem Catilinae . . . non credendo corroboraverunt.

labor legislation, to place "lame ducks" in the seats of the mighty, and to offer free hypodermic injections of that self-satisfying tonic, "Our country, right or wrong."

A good statesman does not delay in a crisis. So Cicero represents the republic calling upon the consul to act quickly and vigorously if he would save it from destruction:⁸ "Will you (Cicero) not order him (Catiline) to be hurried off to prison, to be dragged out to death, to be done away with by every form of punishment? You exhibit a fine gratitude toward the Roman people, I must say, if on account of fear of unpopularity or any danger you overlook the safety of your citizens." Should he give Catiline life imprisonment and take the summer off in northern Italy? He should act from a sense of duty and not be afraid for his popularity. This chapter in the oration is an object lesson on patriotic duty from the standpoint of a public official.

What is the most effective remedy for ridding our cities of vice? Brigadier General William Smedley Butler, one-time clean-up captain of Philadelphia, asserted recently that a city's vice can be overcome only by driving from its streets its vicious men and women. He means not that they shall be driven away to a neighboring city, but shall be put where they can commit no crimes. Other remedies are only temporary. So Cicero says that unless Catiline leaves Rome, taking all his followers, the city will be like a fever-stricken patient who drinks cold water, relieved for a time, but later violently worse.⁹

The poet Archias has every qualification of good citizenship that Catiline lacks. In fact, we know by the judgment of the jury that Archias was as good and useful a Romanized foreigner as are the Americanized Steiner, Gabrilowitsch, and Bok. And it seems to me that we are doubly blessed as teachers of Latin in this oratorical effort of Cicero's, since that Pierian spring from which we draw forth our best text on the value and beauty of literature,

⁸ *Cat. i.* 11, 27-28: Nonne hunc . . . duci, . . . ad mortem rapi . . . imperabis? . . . praeclaram . . . gratiam refers . . . si propter invidiam . . . salutem civium tuorum negligis.

⁹ *Cat. i.* 13. 31.

when once the waters perchance run low, may be made to gush forth abundantly on the theme of good citizenship. For here is a foreigner who has profoundly influenced the lives of Rome's greatest men, who has fulfilled the three exacting requirements of Roman laws governing citizenship,¹⁰ and whose qualifications for citizenship were so high that they swept aside the prejudice of the Roman Ku-Kluxer and broke down the spirit of "Rome only for Romans."

But we undoubtedly come nearest to "tying up Latin to the needs of present-day life," to the approval of the most ardent social-science fan, in the oration on the Manilian Law. Cicero with six nouns, using Pompey as a measuring-stick, defines the ideal citizen:¹¹ *innocentia*, *temperantia*, *fides*, *facilitas* (here equivalent to *benignitas*), *ingenium*, and *humanitas*. Pompey with the qualities of *innocentia* and *temperantia* does not have to be watched lest he misappropriate public funds.¹² With *fides* he inaugurates an era of international understanding comparable to that which had characterized an earlier period when, in a eulogistic burst of oratory, Cicero asserts that Rome had such public officials that foreign states preferred to serve Rome rather than hold sway over their neighbors.¹³

And his office door was always open to the humblest citizen,¹⁴ to him even that dwelt on lower Scythe-Makers Street; such was his *facilitas*. His reputation, also, in both private and public life has been so sound that conquered nations hold it an honor to hand over to him their swords.¹⁵ In fine, he has the courage and affability of a Roosevelt, the honesty of a Lincoln, the refinement of a Wilson, and the military dash of a Grant. May we not, without too long a pause in the main business of translation, encourage our pupils to reflect upon these superb qualities of good citizenship? In my opinion, such reflection, occasioned by and in

¹⁰ *Archias* 4. 7.

¹¹ *Manilian Law* 13. 36.

¹² *Manilian Law* 13. 37.

¹³ *Manilian Law* 14. 41.

¹⁴ *Manilian Law* 14. 41.

¹⁵ *Manilian Law* 16. 46.

the process of rendering the thought from the Latin into English, will bear a far weightier influence than a many times longer pause as a part of an assigned lesson in social science.

Besides the civic value of an ideal citizenship, we teach the personal attributes of self-control. That means a form of character development, and the social-science men are strong for character development. We may refer again to Cicero's oration on the Manilian Law where he lays down his famous code on personal character: "For a general who does not control himself cannot control an army; and one cannot be a strict judge of others who is unwilling for others to be stern judges of himself."¹⁶ And later in the same speech he reminds Catulus and Hortensius that a general who cannot keep his eyes and hands off the property of allies is not a safe man to be trusted with the task of subduing Asia, rich in treasures.¹⁷

Many of the new second-year textbooks contain splendid maxims and proverbs which are in themselves a Bible of injunction for self-control. One such book contains a proverb taken from Seneca: "The best remedy for a hot temper is delay."¹⁸ Also "Let any man who has done a good deed keep still about it; let him tell it for whom the deed was done."¹⁹ And from Publilius Syrus: "He more than conquers who conquers himself in victory."²⁰

Many of the stories in the second-year books deal with fine traits of character, such as Pliny's "A Model Wife" and "A Devoted Wife," the former his own mate, much younger than he, who shared with him an interest in his business and who gave evidence of the remarkable training with which she had been brought up by her aunt. The devoted wife will be remembered as Arria who kept from her sick husband, Paetus, news of the death of their son. Later when refused passage with her husband, a

¹⁶ *Manilian Law* 13. 38.

¹⁷ *Manilian Law* 23. 66.

¹⁸ *Maximum remedium irae mora est.*

¹⁹ *Qui beneficium dedit taceat; narret qui accepit.*

²⁰ *Bis vincit qui se vincit in victoria.*

prisoner en route to Rome, she hires a boat and follows. Arrived, she stabs herself and drawing forth the blade remarks composedly to her husband, "Paetus, it does not hurt!" Too much emphasis, to be sure, must not be laid upon such passages for values outside the practice in translating Latin into English. But it has this much value: given the same thought in both English and Latin passages, the fine social attitude which it emphasizes will create a much greater mental impression when the pupil gets the idea gradually and with climactic effect through translation than when cursorily reading it in English. In fact, ideas which seem too puerile even for a tender freshman when read in English are usually relished and appreciated when obtained through the medium of translation. Thus it is always safe to conclude that small stories may be introduced in abundance in a second-year book which would be laid aside with the utmost disdain if paraded in the form of an English primer.

Vergil, too, is not lacking in exhortation for self-control. "Now is the time, Aeneas, for a brave heart and a steadfast soul," admonishes the Sibyl in the Sixth *Aeneid*.²¹ The rowers' limbs quiver under the strain of awaiting the command to start the race in the Fifth *Aeneid*.²² "Revive your spirits, comrades," exhorts Aeneas, in an effort to reassure his own depressed mind.²³ And if Entellus' wrath at Dares as he rises from the ground, whither he had fallen heavily after a blow that had spent itself in the empty air, seems to lack this vital element which produces good citizenship, it will be remembered that it was a righteous anger, and a good citizen is the better if he rises in his wrath and smites the negligent official who permits the flouting of the law, or a nation whose sabre-rattling leader knows no law save the law of force.

It is my conviction that instruction in social science which does not quicken a pupil's religious feeling falls short of a proper objective. I do not mean, of course, by the term "religious" the

²¹ *Aeneid* vi. 261.

²² *Aeneid* v. 136-138.

²³ *Aeneid* i. 202.

ordinary sense of worshipful. Perhaps the term "sympathetic" would do as well. It has always appeared clear to me that we had failed in our Latin instruction in the fourth year if we had not aroused in a measurable degree a pupil's appreciation of the fine feelings which must have prompted the lofty utterances that distinguish an elevated epic from the babble of syndicated newspaper rhymes. This I would term a phase of character development which with self-control almost makes the perfect man.

This training in Latin study starts early in the second year. Fine exhibitions of heroism, such as Horatius at the Bridge, Arria's devotion (mentioned above), the Gallic brothers cut off by the Germans,²⁴ are bound to create self-analysis in a pupil and lead him to ask himself, "Would I be capable of an equal heroism or act of unselfishness?" Cicero's portrayal of the character of Archias or Pompey will stimulate this force to a certain degree. Certainly a quickening of the sense of civic responsibility is akin to it, and that theme cannot be detached from any one of the six orations commonly read in the third year.

Then in the *Aeneid* the pupil is treated to a year's course in patriotism and devotion, loyalty at once to parent, to home, and to country. Surely Heaven smiles propitiously upon the dutiful, suggests the poet in his invocation, in the storm, when he bids his comrades, after the storm, raise their drooping spirits and bide a better day, and when Rhipeus falls slain, *iustissimus et servantissimus aequi* — *dis aliter visum*.

What shall we say of the religious sentiment present in that beautiful lament:

O thrice and four times happy they, whose lot it was to find death before the gaze of their sires 'neath the lofty wall of Troy!²⁵

Or that splendid expression of international friendship when Dido offers consolation for the unfriendly reception given the Trojans wrecked upon her shore:

We Carthaginians do not possess such unfeeling hearts nor does the sun yoke his steeds so far from our shores. Whether you seek

²⁴ Caes. *B. G.* iv. 12.

²⁵ *Aeneid* i. 94-101.

the great Hesperia and the land of Saturn, or the realms of Eryx and Acestes as your king, I will send you away in safety and will aid you with my wealth. Or would you settle with me on equal terms in my realm? The city which I am founding is yours; beach your ships. Trojan and Tyrian will be treated by me with no discrimination.²⁶

In like manner may we mention that fine example of a refined man's appreciation of service, when Aeneas tells Dido that it is beyond his power to show her proper gratitude and bids the gods requite her as she deserves. He brings it all to a perfect climax when he assures her that —

As long as the rivers flow down to the sea;
As long as the shadows pass over the heights of the mountains;
As long as the heavens feed the stars;
So long will remembrance of thy noble character, thy
Reputation and thy praiseworthy deeds abide with me,
No matter what lands may call me.²⁷

Here is real religious feeling, brought without a sermon to a young pupil's mind, bearing a force which you and I, case-hardened by the cynicism of the world, have difficulty in appreciating. Sinon's artful prayers, Laocoon's wretched end, pious man though he was, the decoration of the shrines of the gods with garlands in celebration of the entrance of the horse, are all silent forces which create that deep human sympathy and pity which the advocates of social science claim should be, theoretically, a part of their course.

A boy or girl of eighteen does not like to be known to be affected emotionally by passages which abound in religious sentiment. But we all know that they are affected when they read the slaughter of Polites and Priam, when they translate the tender words of Hecuba as she guides her aged king and husband to a seat by the altar of the gods; as they hear Priam, shaking with impotent rage, compare the ruthlessness of Pyrrhus to the magnanimity of his father Achilles. And though a class may condemn Aeneas for leaving Creusa so far in the rear, they warm to the gentleness

²⁶ *Aeneid* i. 567-574.

²⁷ *Aeneid* i. 607-610.

of her address when, in a shade-form thrice seized in vain, she appears and says:

O gentle husband, dispel the tears shed for thy beloved Creusa; and now farewell, and guard well the love of your son and mine.²⁸

But one need go no further than the Second *Aeneid*, as here. Throughout the work the stimulus is distinctly emotional and decidedly religious. Were it not so, the fourth-year reading of Latin would not prove the oasis that it is in the translation experience of secondary-school pupils. They crave feeling in their reading, and the hardest of them, though he fights unconsciously the force, welcomes the touch which strives to quicken his sympathies.

If the *Aeneid* quickens the emotions which we have described as more nearly religious, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* make a more esthetic appeal. If one knew nothing about the life of either Vergil or Ovid save what he could glean from the spirit and fervor of his works, it would be an easy guess to say that Vergil was the more god-fearing man. Yet it is distinctly worth while to start the third year with the orations of Cicero if only to note that livelier stir of interest and the imagination when Ovid is brought on, say right after the holidays, when the new of Christmas things has palled along with the glamor of Cicero's tilt with Catiline. The lament of Orpheus before the throne of Pluto, his toilsome return to earth, his bitter loss, all is told in a language that fires the imagination and makes a direct appeal to a pupil's love of beauty. It is this love of beauty, beauty in all its forms, which teachers of social science maintain is one of the most legitimate attitudes which it is their business to cultivate.

Baucis and Philemon offer a more purely religious touch, for the tenderness of these lovers is that tempered with age and devotion to the gods. Apollo and Daphne always make a deep impression, as the artistry of the poet in describing the metamorphosis — the heart beating beneath Apollo's hand, the wood shrinking from his kiss, the tree-top nodding assent like a head — is un-

²⁸ *Aeneid* ii. 777-789.

surpassed by anything read in secondary-school English or Latin.

It strikes the writer as decidedly amusing, this struggle to introduce courses which per se will develop character, the taking of pledges to be patriotic, to be good citizens, to be self-controlled. Have we not been performing this function well in our Latin courses these many years? The study of all enduring pieces of literature may be said to promote character development. But when we teach properly the material which we have laid before our high-school youth, we teach them not merely what is excellent in the literature, but we teach them that first-class citizens are in demand today more than in the day when Cicero's torrent of invective drove the knavish Catiline from the senate chamber; that we have and must continue to have men like Archias and Pompey; that self-control in our lives today is just as important as the lack of it proved in Lucullus' life; that from the first day to the last of our Latin course, while the main objective is a readier comprehension and a more accurate and flexible and elegant translation, we teach the foundations of social science.

ATROX FORTUNA

By MARGUERITE KRETSCHMER
Demarest, New Jersey

The traveller who for the first time approaches Rome by rail either from Naples or from the north, in his wide-eyed wonder at the far-stretching line of the Claudian aqueduct and his ecstatic admiration of the marvellous dome of that renowned cathedral floating over the worship of the city, his heart filled with inexpressible joy at the consummation of this his long-cherished dream, and his brain teeming with ambitious thoughts and plans for the morrow, will not observe, a short distance beyond the Porta Maggiore, a moderate-sized building in the form of a decagon, with walls of marble and its vaulting gone. The train passes it quickly, and in that moment the traveller is brought as near to this humble ruin as he ever will be in all his stay, and he will leave without once giving it a thought or searching it out. He will probably not even know it exists. Yet if he is a lover of the classics and particularly if he harbors in a soul enthusiastic for historical data a secret passion for the legends that in the course of centuries have come to cluster, ivy-like, about certain monuments so as almost to obscure their pristine use, then he would gladly set aside an hour to make his way to this solitary structure and attempt to fathom its secret. Long known as the Temple of Minerva Medica for no apparent reason, this former nymphaeum from the imperial gardens of Valerian and Gallienus acquired in the Middle Ages the curious and enigmatical name, *Le Galluzze*, which has been conjectured to be a corruption of *Gaius et Lucius* and to have designated the thermae erected to the honor of the grandsons of Augustus. No such building ever existed, and in vain would one search the empty niches that once

held statues of Pomona, Faunus, Venus, Adonis, and Antinous, to grace an emperor's garden-house, for any traces of inscrip-tional or other evidences of those names over which the *Annals* of Tacitus have thrown the shadow of the thoughts of Livia.¹

At the northern end of the Roman Forum a tumbled heap of massive blocks of stone, once thought to form part of the adja-cent Basilica Aemilia, has but recently² been correctly identified as the shattered ruin of the imposing marble colonnade erected by Augustus³ in the latter part of his reign, in the name of the senate, to the two promising young scions of his noble house, the dearly beloved grandsons on whom alone rested the hopes of empire in the heart of that lonely and bereaved old monarch. A colossal inscription, now broken into three pieces and chiseled with that minute precision which betrays at once the skilled lapi-dary of the Augustan age, lies almost in the order of its original position, parallel to the west front of the building, as though dislodged by an earthquake no more formidable than that which laid the mighty drums of the Thunderer's temple so deftly end to end in the soft pine needles at Olympia. From the vantage point of a neighboring fragment one can almost read the entire dedication consecutively in its simple and impressive directness:

L.CAE	SARI AUG(u)	STI.F.DIVI.N.
PRIN	CIPI IUVENTUTI	S.COS.DESIG.
(c)UM	ESSET ANN.NA	T.XIIII AUG.
	SENATUS.	

It is possible that on the eastern front a similar inscription to Gaius, the elder brother, existed, although it is passing strange that it should have completely disappeared, together with the still

¹ Tac. *Ann.* i. 3: Lucium Caesarem euntem ad Hispaniensiis exercitus, Gaium remeantem Armenia et vulnere invalidum, mors fato propra vel Liviae nover-cae dolus abstulit.

² Huelsen, *Römische Mitt.* XVII; "Neue Ausgrabungen im Forum" (*Jahres-bericht der Class. Alt. Wiss.*, 1900); Van Deman, "The Porticus of Gaius and Lucius" (*A. J. A.*, 1913).

³ Suet. *Aug.* 29: . . . quaedam etiam opera sub nomine alieno . . . fecit, ut porticum basilicamque Gai et Luci.

more striking dedication to Augustus which is believed ⁴ to have adorned the splendid façade that faced the temple of the deified Caesar.

It is to Tacitus and Suetonius and to a few inscriptions, medals, and coins that we owe the rather scanty facts concerning the lives of the royal princes whom "outrageous Fortune" within the space of eighteen⁵ months snatched from the very steps of the throne that awaited them. Sons of the great general Agrippa and the Emperor's notorious daughter Julia,⁶ they were, at the death of their father and the banishment of their mother, taken up as mere infants into the imperial palace and publicly adopted by Augustus with the most elaborate formula then employed,⁷ *per assem et libram*, which constituted a fictitious purchase and was at once the most impressive and the most binding of Roman ceremonies. From the very first, but particularly after the expulsion of their younger brother, the intractable and unruly Agrippa Postumus, to Planasia and his subsequent death there, the fondest hopes of the Emperor centred in these children, and in watching over their growth and directing their minds' development he could almost forget that sadly memorable day when with bowed head he had listened to the exquisite tribute of his poet laureate to that bier heaped with lilies, and when the glory of the Julian line lay dead in Marcellus.

Antiquity can show us no authentic statue or bust of either of the boys, although Studniczka sees in the little *putto* playing at the feet of the colossal Augustus from Livia's villa at Prima Porta a portrait of the elder, Gaius, at the age of two. The education of the princes was intrusted to the noted rhetorician, Verrius Flaccus, who conducted his school within the palace;

⁴ Van Deman, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Suet. *Aug.* 65: Gaium et Lucium in duodeviginti mensium spatio amisit ambos, Gaio in Lycia Lucio Massiliae defunctis.

⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 64: Nepotes ex Agrippa et Julia tres habuit, Gaium, Lucium, et Agrippam.

⁷ *Ibid.*: Gaium et Lucium adoptavit domi, per assem et libram emptos a patre Agrippa. Tac. *Ann.* i. 3: Nam genitos Agrippa Gaium ac Lucium in familiam Caesarum induxerat.

and many a lesson was supervised and approved by Octavian himself. Plutarch paints us a charming picture of the Emperor in those early, happy days: "It happened . . . that Augustus once found one of his grandsons with a work of Cicero in his hands. The boy was frightened and hid the book under his gown; but Caesar took it from him and, standing there motionless, he read through a great part of the book; then he gave it back to the boy and said, 'This was a great orator, my child, a great orator — and a man who loved his country well.'"

The lads early accompanied him on his journeys and made their public appearance when scarcely in their teens,⁸ being designated as consuls ere they had laid aside the toga of childhood. In the year 8 B.C., when Gaius was but twelve, Augustus took him to Gaul, and there used the opportunity of introducing him to the Rhenish legions. Although the boy was far too young to serve as a recruit, the ample gifts of money presented to the soldiers induced them to overlook the deficiency in his years. It is possible that it was upon this occasion that Gaius was formally named "patron" of the city of Nemausus in Gallia Narbonensis, a title which he holds on an undated inscription found in 1810 near the amphitheatre of that town.⁹

Indeed, the honors bestowed upon both Gaius and his younger brother far surpassed the measure due to their youth. In the year 7 B.C. Gaius personally presided at the *Ludi Troiani*, in which he had taken active part as early as six years previously. Augustus, despite his very evident pleasure at the popularity of his grandsons, took occasion to complain quite audibly at the amount of applause they received, and when in the next year Lucius, after a tremendous acclamation, asked the people for the consulship for his brother just turned fourteen, the Emperor, secretly delighted¹⁰ at the willingness with which this boon would have

⁸ Suet. *Aug.* 64: . . . teneros adhuc ad curam rei publicae admovit et consules designatos circum provincias exercitusque dimisit.

⁹ T. A. Cook, *Old Provence*, p. 212: C. Caesar Augusti filius consul designatus patronus Coloniae Augustae Nemausensium x ystum dat.

¹⁰ Tac. *Ann.* i. 3: . . . necdum posita puerili praetexta principes iuven-tutis appellari, destinari consules specie recusantis flagrantissime cupiverat.

been granted, yet had the wisdom to refuse the request, and requited Gaius with a priesthood which was later to be followed by others. In the Forum inscription, as we have seen, he is already augur. At about this time the equites received him into their order, constituting him their leader by the bestowal of the silver shield and spear and of the title *Princeps Iuventutis*, which Lucius likewise obtained three years later. No coins of the Augustan period are more elaborate than those on which appear the portraits of the two boys with that of Augustus, and the insignia and appellation of their new honor. The title meant but little in itself, as the Emperor well knew, but in his heart vast projects were forming again, of which the people were not entirely unaware; and Ovid voices the secret wishes of a nation now well accustomed to a central power and appreciative of its benefits, when he apostrophizes Gaius (*Ars Amat.* i. 194):

Nunc iuvenum princeps, deinde future senum.

Moreover, in the long funeral stele¹¹ set up by the veterans at Pisa to Gaius he is boldly called *Futurus Augusti Successor* and *Princeps Designatus*. With Tiberius in Rhodes and his brother Drusus dead, Rome looked with expectancy to the transfer of the reins of state from the hands of Augustus to those of his promising heirs. Both boys were at the earliest possible age invited to the sittings of the senate and took part in the most vital deliberations, one of which in 4 B.C. was to decide the fate of the inhabitants of Judaea. In the previous year Augustus had entered upon his twelfth consulship in order to celebrate with unusual elaborateness the formal début of his elder grandson, his assumption of the *toga virilis*. Rich gifts were showered upon the people. But in 2 B.C. the display was even greater when Lucius in his turn laid aside the *praetexta*, and every man of the 200,000 holders of "grain tickets" received a dole of sixty denarii, this being the eighth and last distribution of this nature made by the Emperor. In August of that year both brothers were present at the solemn dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor, which stood forth a visible fulfillment of the vow made on the battle-field at Philippi.

¹¹ *Cenotaphium Pisanum*, *C. I. L.*, XI, 1420-21.

New obligations awaited the prowess of Gaius when Armenia, long a bone of contention between the East and the West because of its unsettled boundaries, threatened revolt by expelling the king to whom Rome had offered the crown two years before and inviting the Parthian usurper, Tigranes IV. Tiberius had positively refused the conduct of this campaign, which now fell to the young, untried soldier. The year which still stood between him and his majority was earnestly employed in all possible preparation for the expedition. Gaius was given extraordinary proconsular power and a staff of carefully chosen lieutenants, among whom figured Lollius, L. Domitius, the grandfather of Nero, and Sejanus. Isidor of Charax and King Juba of Numidia were called upon to draw up the necessary geographical charts, and a secret code was worked out for a correspondence with the Emperor. Ovid devotes a considerable portion of the *Ars Amatoria* to a fulsome eulogy of the youthful leader from whom so much was expected.¹² The young prince was speedily betrothed to Livia,¹³ the beautiful daughter of Drusus, while a Greek poet in the city expressed to him the good wishes of the people, and Augustus invoked the gods in his behalf for "the wisdom of Pompey, the astuteness of Alexander, and his own unexampled fortune." At last the anticipated twentieth birthday arrived, and late in the year 1 B.C. Gaius set sail under the best of auspices. A short stop was made at Athens, where several inscriptions record his rich gifts to Pallas, and statues erected to his honor laud the valor of "Ares" and the "Son of Ares." From here he crossed the Aegean to Chios¹⁴ or Samos,¹⁵ where Tiberius condescended to meet his kinsman, without however appreciably ameliorating his feelings toward him, particularly due to the influence of Lollius. The next stop was Egypt, from which an excursion was made to

¹² *Ars Amat.* i. 177 ff.

¹³ Tac. *Ann.* iv. 40: . . . Liviam, quae Gaio Caesari, mox Druso nupta fuerit.

¹⁴ Cassius Dio.

¹⁵ Suet. *Tib.* 12: . . . namque privignum Gaium, Orienti praepositum, cum visendi gratia traiecisset Samum, alieniorem sibi sensit ex criminationibus M. Lollii, comitis et rectoris eius.

Northern Arabia and perhaps arrangements entered into for an Arabian campaign to follow the Armenian. Arrived in Syria, no time was allowed for a visit to Jerusalem, a fact which Augustus approved.¹⁶ On the first of January of the year 1 A.D. Gaius entered upon his consulship at his place of disembarkation, and the preparations for war began. In a cordial birthday letter from the Emperor in September no mention was as yet made of any results, and the months seem to have been spent in conciliation. Meanwhile at Rome Lucius constantly read to the people from his brother's missives any good news that came from the East. Finally the Parthian king agrees to an interview, and a meeting is called on an island in the Euphrates in the presence of both armies lined up on the banks. In a private conversation following the capitulation the king informs Gaius of the corruption and disloyalty that exist among his bodyguard, particularly in the case of Lollius. Investigation proves the truth of this accusation, and Lollius is immediately dismissed and replaced. By the terms of the agreement with Parthia, Artavasdes is now placed on the throne and the Eastern question theoretically settled. The Armenian National Party, still favorable to the Parthians, remained to be dealt with.

In the meanwhile Lucius, now betrothed to a noble lady, Aemilia Lepida, was yet anxious to emulate his brother, and longed to enter upon military service in the West. Augustus was forced to yield and enlisted him in the Spanish legions, who were at the time engaged in quelling insurrections among the mountaineers but ran no serious risks of open attack. And so, in the best of spirits and in excellent health young Lucius set sail from Ostia. Ere he reached the mouth of the Rhone he felt so ill that he was compelled to land in Massilia, where he died almost immediately, at the age of eighteen. While he was being borne on the shoulders of his military tribunes through France to Rome, the Fates were rapidly spinning the last strands of the life of his brother. The unexpected death of King Artavasdes had induced the de-

¹⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 93: . . . sed et Gaium nepotem, quod Judaeam praetervehens apud Hierosolyma non supplicasset, collaudavit.

posed Tigranes to write humbly to Augustus for recognition. The Emperor referred him to Gaius, and the short, sharp siege of Artagira followed, the result again an interview, in which an unsuccessful attempt upon the prince's life led to the surrender of the city and the installation of Ariobarzanes, son of Artavasdes.¹⁷ The war was now over and a wonderful triumph was naturally expected. The young prince at the age of twenty-one had won the highest military renown, and there was no doubt in the mind of anyone as to his future rule. To the unutterable amazement of all Rome he wrote the Emperor a gentle but firm refusal of any mark of honor, renouncing all claims to his inheritance and begging for permission to settle down to a life of retirement in some obscure town of Syria. Augustus could not believe his eyes, and yet he had to summon all his powers of persuasion to induce him to consent to return from the East. The wound received during the treacherous interview had never entirely healed, and it was in a weakened condition that the young prince finally embarked for Rome, on a plain merchant ship and without insignia of any sort. Scarcely out of sight of land, without warning he suddenly grew desperately ill and had to land at Limyra on the Lycian coast, where he expired almost upon arrival. In his turn borne home on the shoulders of his followers, his body was burned as had been that of Lucius, and the ashes placed in the mausoleum of the Emperor. The inscription still exists,

Ossa C. Caesaris Augusti f. principis iuventutis,¹⁸

while that of his brother has disappeared.

Augustus never recovered from this twofold shock, and years later he began his will with the heart-broken words, *Quoniam atrox Fortuna Gaium et Lucium filios mihi eripuit*. There are some who see in the large Paris Cameo the apotheosis of Gaius; the claim, however, is questionable. Both princes had altars and cults in their memory in Pisa and elsewhere. In Pisa the long funeral inscription to Gaius previously referred to was set up,

¹⁷ *Mon. Anc.* v. 24: . . . eandem gentem postea descendentem et rebellantem domitam per Gaium filium regi Ariobarzani tradidi.

¹⁸ *C. I. L.*, VI, 884.

together with a gilded equestrian statue, upon the arrival of the news from Rome; and for many years the day of his death was alluded to as another *Dies Alliensis*. Even the stern Tiberius was touched, and in view of the general lamentation saw fit to compose a lyric poem to Lucius.¹⁹ At Rome a little grove near the Naumachia was henceforth called *Nemus Caesarum*.

In the province of Gallia Narbonensis they also mourned. An exquisite little temple, whose inscription has been reconstructed from the holes left by the nails that held the bronze letters in place, expresses this simple and touching tribute:

C. Caesari Augusti f. cos. L. Caesari Augusti f. cos. designato.²⁰

Strange and varied has been the history of that small building: it has been employed as *Hôtel de Ville*, has served as a private residence, narrowly escaped becoming the family vault of a duchess, been used as a stable and hayloft and had its columns filed down to permit of the entrance of heavy drays. It fell into the hands of Augustinian monks and was for a while both their church and their tomb; then again for a few years held the municipal archives, and lastly served as granary and market. With the coming of more enlightened centuries, its beauties were once more disclosed by the tearing down of the miserable houses that had collected like a fungus growth about it, and one of the most noted churches in Paris was modeled on its delicate lines. But how few people know these things who journey here yearly from far countries to view the little museum collection in the *Maison Carrée* at Nîmes!

¹⁹ Suet. *Tib.* 70: Composuit et carmen lyricum, cuius est titulus Conquestio de morte L. Caesaris.

²⁰ *C. I. L.*, XII, 3156.

TEACHING THE COMPREHENSION OF LATIN ¹

By EDITH FRANCES CLAFLIN
Indiana University

An unparalleled opportunity for genuine progress in the field of classical teaching in America is presented by the recent Classical Investigation. This nation-wide survey has indeed held the mirror up to the Latin teachers of our country; but we must be on our guard lest we be like the man of whom St. James speaks as "beholding his natural face in a mirror: for he beholdeth himself, and goeth away, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was." I shall therefore make no apology for bringing to your attention this morning a subject suggested by the *Report of the Classical Investigation*, with the hope of making some contribution toward the actual putting in practice of improved methods of teaching.

The term "comprehension" as a technical term in Latin pedagogy took its origin in the recommendation of that *Report* that the College Entrance Examination Board should adopt as part of its requirements for entrance credit in Latin an examination in comprehension at sight, to be tested by the candidates' ability to answer questions upon the thought of a moderately easy sight passage, the translation of which should not be required. Our consideration of the best ways of meeting such a requirement is all the more timely since on this very day the College Entrance Examination Board is holding in New York a meeting to determine whether this recommendation and others made in the same *Report* shall be adopted.² And although the examinations set by the Board are not so all-important in the Middle West as they

¹ A paper read at the Latin Teachers' Conference and Institute, Indiana University, April 10, 1926.

² At this meeting the recommendation referred to was adopted.

are in the East, since most of our middle western universities admit students on certificate, yet the influence of the type of examinations set by the College Entrance Examination Board, whose tests are used now exclusively by the great eastern universities, such as Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, is bound to be felt throughout the country. And, in fact, I have noticed that in all the examinations set this year in our Indiana State Latin Contest there were questions in "comprehension."

Now, before proceeding to take up in some detail methods that seem to me to be likely to prove effective in teaching our pupils to meet such tests, I should like to say a few words about some things that this new idea in Latin teaching is *not*. In the first place it is not a fad, which may well be adopted today and forgotten tomorrow. Nor on the other hand is it a teaching "device," which may be taken or left at our individual caprice. Nor again is it a slight and superficial modification of methods already prevalent. The recommendation of the *Report*, which is, I think, almost certain to be adopted by the Board, is a radical proposal. I do not mean, of course, that it is "bolshevistic" or calculated to upset law and order. But it is radical in the true sense, the Latin sense, of that fine word, so much misused of late. It goes to the roots of our whole conception of Latin teaching, and it strikes at the root of what I believe to be by far the most serious evil in current practice in Latin classrooms, the tendency to treat Latin as a "dead language" and so to dissect it mechanically, instead of dealing with it as a living tongue capable of being apprehended directly. And, as Cicero says in the *Fourth Catiline*, of the conspiracy, *latius opinione disseminatum est hoc malum*.

"Latin," said a college instructor, not long ago, "Latin is a jig-saw puzzle." Well, if it is, then I can only say that it is useless to try to comprehend it. You cannot comprehend a jig-saw puzzle. You can only piece it together slowly and painfully in the hope that eventually, if you have good luck, it may be seen to make sense. If that is our conception of Latin, instead of trying to be "up-to-date" and to meet these new-fangled tests in com-

prehension, it would be better to have recourse to some good old-fashioned procedure such as that inculcated in "A Short Catechism of Latin Syntax," which I came across recently in *An Elementary Latin Grammar* by John Barrow Allen, M.A., Late Scholar of New College, Oxford, a book going back in its first edition to 1874. This work gives "Elementary Rules for Construing," as follows:

- Q. How do we begin the translation of a Latin sentence?
 A. First look for the Finite Verb, and then for its Subject.
 Q. Will *any* Finite Verb do that happens to be in the sentence?
 A. No. The Finite Verb of the Sentence is *never* to be looked for in a clause introduced by the Relative *qui, quae, quod*, or by a Subordinative Conjunction, as *quum, when, ut, that, ne, lest, si, if, etsi, although*, etc. (p. 84).

But the truth is that this mechanical way of looking at Latin in England, which has been to so very large an extent the source of the methods commonly employed in our American schools also, came in in the period between the Middle Ages, with their living apprehension of Latin as the universal medium of intellectual intercourse, and our modern era of the scientific study of language, and is wholly unscientific in character.

Latin has had a continuous history of uninterrupted use from prehistoric times down to the present day, and the modern Romance languages, such as French, Spanish, and Italian, are not, properly speaking, derived from Latin; they *are* Latin. Antoine Meillet, the great French linguist, says in his *Introduction to the Comparative Study of the Indo-European Languages*, pp. 3-4: "If then two languages present in their grammatical forms, their syntax, and their vocabulary an ensemble of definite coincidences, it is because these two languages in reality form only one. The resemblances of Italian and Spanish proceed from the fact that these two idioms are both modern forms of Latin. French resembles them still less, and yet it is also *modern* Latin." It is therefore not a mere passing notion that we should try to teach our pupils to comprehend Latin, that is, to read it as Latin and

get ideas out of it directly, just as we learn to read French, for example, as French; but this proposal of the American Classical League's Committee is a genuine attempt to bring about a much-needed reform, based both on science and on common sense. It is true, of course, that in classical Latin we have a somewhat conventional literary form of the language, not quite a vernacular even in Cicero's day, and it is doubtless hardly practicable in most places to teach people to talk it — though if the newly formed Mediaeval Academy of America goes on and flourishes, we may ere long be called upon to teach our students to speak mediaeval Latin — but at least we can make every effort to get them to read Latin.

From what I have already said, it will be clear that the teaching of the comprehension of Latin is not to be confined to occasional lessons, still less to be postponed to a period immediately before some stated test, but must begin with the very first lesson in beginner's Latin and continue every day throughout the course. In teaching the first declension, for example, the meaning of each case-form should be illustrated in Latin sentences or phrases before the pupils are required to learn the paradigm by heart, so that from the beginning they will associate meaning with inflection. Illustrative sentences are better than the memorizing of English equivalents of the cases, since few, if any, Latin forms have always the same English equivalence, and it is only hampering to the student in later work to have one English tag attached to every Latin word. If the conception of Latin as a living organism be accepted, we should rather avoid everything that is stereotyped and seek for ways of teaching that will make for interest and liveliness in the recitation. With young beginners especially, the work should be largely oral, and the dramatic instinct, so strong in children, should be appealed to. Stories should be introduced very early, and dialogues, and little plays. Short poems, too, such as Catullus' exquisite elegy on the death of the pet sparrow, or Horace's charming picture —

Beatus ille qui procul negotiis
Ut prisca gens mortalium

Paterna rura bobus exercet suis
Solutus omni faenore —

may be learned by heart and recited both individually and in concert. Young people love such work, and whatever increases their delight in their Latin tends to increase their comprehension of it.

Small profit grows, where is no pleasure ta'en.

And yet, however wisely we plan and carry out the more elementary work, it will still remain true that to teach the comprehension of classic authors like Caesar, Cicero, and Virgil is no easy task, but one that demands all that a teacher has of knowledge, skill, and patience, and — shall I say? — of faith. The prime requisite for teaching the fine art of reading Latin, is that the teacher shall himself read it with ease. Our pupils are keen observers of us, if not always of Latin inflections, and they will soon discover whether we read Latin books for pleasure ourselves outside of the regular lessons, and will draw their own conclusions. As regards classroom procedure in the reading of Latin authors, the first essential is the intelligent, expressive reading aloud of the original. Professor Greenough, of Harvard, who was the most inspiring Latin teacher of whom it was ever my privilege to learn, relied almost wholly upon this. So eager was he to make us learn to read Latin as Latin — yes, to think in Latin — that he practically banished English from his classroom and trusted to the spoken Latin word alone. Again and again he would read certain passages that we seemed slow to grasp, showing by pauses and by his tones of voice how the words were grouped, till "Livy's pictured page" fairly glowed with light and color, and a very clod would have understood. His faith was justified; for occasional written quizzes showed that we did learn to comprehend Latin in his classroom as nowhere else. For myself, I know, it was like the discovery of a new world.

With secondary-school pupils, however, and any who are less advanced, it is probably wiser in most cases to take some means of making sure that they actually are going through the thought

processes that should accompany the reading aloud of the Latin. There are many such means, no one of which should be relied upon exclusively. For nowhere more than in teaching is variety the spice of life. It should be a cardinal principle, however, that nobody should be asked to translate a passage till he thoroughly understands the meaning of it. A useful transitional tool is the oral metaphrase, that is, a very literal word-by-word, or at least phrase-by-phrase, rendering into English. This should be sharply distinguished from translation, which is possible only after the thought has been completely comprehended. The metaphrase is especially valuable in that it makes certain that the exact force of each form is apprehended, and in the Latin order. The order of words is so important in the Latin sentence that great pains should be taken to insure the student's attending to it. A single example may perhaps illustrate this point. The other day in my freshman Latin class at the University, in which we were reading Cicero's *De Senectute*, mention being made of the poet Naevius, I wrote on the blackboard that famous line of his,

Fato Metelli Romae fiunt consules,

and asked one of the class to translate it. The student immediately began with the subject and rendered the line, "The Metelli are made consuls at Rome by fate," thereby missing the point (and there usually is a rather sharp point in Naevius) that it is by *fate* that the Metelli become consuls at Rome.

There are so many aspects of the subject of teaching the comprehension of Latin, that, as Cicero says in the *Oration on the Manilian Law*, of the praises of Pompey, *huius autem orationis difficilium est exitum quam principium invenire*. But *ne longum sit*, I will pass by many things, such as practice in Latin at hearing, a most potent aid to comprehension; the importance of early acquisition of an adequate vocabulary, the lack of which, I am inclined to think, is, after all, the greatest stumbling-block in the path of success; and the many ways in which by the skillful use of the blackboard the grouping of words and the interrelation of clauses can be helpfully indicated. Let me conclude by speaking briefly of two possible misconceptions.

The comprehension of Latin is not in any sense something opposed to the translation of Latin. On the contrary, as a distinguished American scholar, Professor Edward P. Morris, of Yale, has so well put it, "the necessary middle step in translation is a perfect comprehension of the thought." Much confusion on this point exists in the mind of pupils. They should be taught to become conscious of the fact that it is only after they have understood the thought of a passage that they are ready to translate it, that is, to express the ideas obtained directly from the Latin in the best English of which they are capable. The second misconception that we should guard against is the notion that practice in comprehension of Latin means a vague and hazy guessing at the sense of a passage. Two things are above all else necessary to reading at sight, which is the same thing as "comprehension" — grammatical accuracy and the right use of the imagination. By the right use of the imagination I mean the effort of the reader, with all the resources that his knowledge of Roman history, of Roman life and literature put at his command, to reconstruct with imaginative sympathy what the author in that particular context is likely to say. In the days before the nineteenth amendment to our American constitution, when it was still being debated whether the vote should be given to women, Alice Duer Miller, a clever New York woman, wrote a witty little book, entitled, "Are women people?" By whatever means our experience and wisdom may suggest we should endeavor to persuade our pupils that the Romans were really people, like ourselves, and likely to do and say natural and human things.

And if in these and other ways we shall succeed in teaching our pupils to read the ancient classics comprehendingly, we shall, I believe, be rendering a patriotic service to the youth of America. To us it may be given to be in some measure the saviors in the midst of a materialistic civilization of that culture which is sweetness and light. If we fulfill our task worthily, we also may be numbered with those who, in the noble phrase of Lucretius, "hand on the lamp of life" —

Et quasi cursores vitae lampada tradunt.

NOVÆ VOCES EX MORTUIS

By PAYSON S. WILD
Chicago

One day late last winter I received a "rush" telegram from my good friend Smith, of Smith's Hotel,¹ Smithopolis. Some of you may remember this unique and wholly classicized hostelry, and its most unique proprietor. (Smith is quite worthy of an impossible superlative.)

The telegram ran thus:

Huc adesdum statim. Proficiscere hodie. Nolo neges. Medius mirabilis.

What on earth was a "*Medius mirabilis*," I wondered. Some sort of "Go-between," doubtless, but what? In the hotel business since 1921 a "Go-between" probably meant but one thing (a man with a roomy *cothurnus*, perhaps), regarded as *sinister*, if you were an honest Government sleuth, decidedly *dextral*, if you were a guest. But no, that could not be it, for, though I knew from refreshing experience something of his covert ability to stimulate, and something of his quiet indifference to the blatant anti-vinarian minority, Smith was not the man to take any chances, even in an ambiguous Latin telegram. I gave up guessing and wired Smith:

Adveniam Smithopolin septem-quattuor post meridiem.

On the train during the afternoon I made some excerpts for Smith from Premier Baldwin's recent presidential address before the British Classical Association. Smith had asked me to do this some time before, saying that he wanted something that he could have engrossed and hang up in his guestrooms.

As I copied a few trenchant paragraphs from the speech on my

¹ The CLASSICAL JOURNAL, June, 1923, p. 535.

portable type-writer, I reflected: Yes, these "voices that speak to us across the death and re-birth of nations" do indeed "touch every emotion in these later days"; they speak not only with *pietas* and *gravitas*, but also at times in the *sermo acerbior, cavillatione abundans*. Little did I then think that later events that night were to bear ample witness to this passing reflection.

Smith met me at the station in his cutter, for the snow lay deep. As we raced to the hotel far ahead of the omnibus under ten times ten thousand shining lamps above, we chanted to a tune of our own that bit of poetic flotsam rescued from the wreck of time:

O magna templa caelitum, commixta stellis splendidis!

Smith and I dined in his private office. I was bursting with curiosity regarding his "*Medius mirabilis*," but refrained from asking any questions even remotely suggesting it, because I saw that Smith was dying to have me do so. I never indulge Smith; he comes more quickly to the point if I do not.

I took out my pipe and started to fill it. Smith handed me his pouch with the remark that he imagined I would enjoy, for a change, a little of his *tus Arabicum* in lieu of my *holus Connecticutinense*. I ignored the slur, while Smith turned away (I hope in shame), fumbled at his bookcase, picked out a thin volume, and sat down again.

"Ever read the Ἡθικὰ Χαρακτῆρες of Theophrastus?" he asked quite abruptly. "Yes, some time ago," I answered at once; "*sed murem olfacio, mi amice*; just what, pray, is the connection between those still mordant sketches and your '*Medius mirabilis*,' for I see that there is one?"

"Just this," he replied, discarding all attempts to be mysterious, and coming at once to the object of my visit. "Old Theophrastus has come back; *est redivivus sub meo tecto hoc temporis puncto ipsissimo*. Here's the story: A day or so ago an elderly and distinguished-looking man registered here. He had a Socratic head and Aristotelian manners. In the course of several conversations with him I learned that he was strongly psychic. After

some hesitation I asked him if he would be willing to hold a *séance* for me. He readily consented — for the price of his room and board; from which I deduced what proved to be a fact, that he was a retired professor. Last night in a quiet room he went into a trance. Besides myself there were present as witnesses a psychologist, a pseudo-scientist, a commercial traveller (who in addition to selling shoes is working on a revision of the Westcott and Hort text of the New Testament), and the house physician. As soon as the voice of the 'Control' was heard, I was amazed. The first words were: 'Θεόφραστος ὁ Λέσβιος εἰμι.' Then followed a gentle flow of Greek, beautifully pronounced, softly modulated. I missed a lot of it, of course, and had no means of recording it. Tonight the old gentleman has promised a second *séance*. I have installed a recording phonograph, and after the show is over, you and I, the commercial traveller, and my Greek *chef* will transcribe the record and see what Aristotle's Elisha has to say to us moderns. Shall we go right up? I think everything is ready."

My state of mind can be more readily imagined than described. I am not naturally credulous, and in the matter of *séances* my sympathies lie rather with Mr. Houdini's attitude than with Mr. Malcolm Bird's. But Smith was so obviously in earnest that I put aside my prejudices, and followed him upstairs.

* * * * *

We finished our transcription in the early hours of the next morning. It was well that we had the help of Smith's Greek *chef*, for otherwise we could never have converted many of the modern and unclassical phrases used by the "Control."

The Sketches, as we heard them originally, and again and again afterwards on the phonograph, had that clarity, that sharpness of outline, that brevity and compactness which are the ornament of the "Characters" of Theophrastus I, and the despair of the translators of Theophrastus II. The transcription will seem turgid and inspissated, I doubt not, to you who are good enough to listen, for, though Smith, the *chef*, the salesman, and I did

our best, what chance has an analytical, not to say dissolute, language with a synthetic and abstemious one?

Smith thinks that these maunderings of the Shade of Theophrastus may well be the sort of thing meant by the living original when he said: "Trust a horse without a bridle better than a discourse without arrangement," and I fancy Smith is right. At any rate,

Vos qui lacrimas habetis, ad eas fundendas vos iam comparate!

* * * * *

I

THE PERIPATETIC COLLEGE PRESIDENT

(Ὁ τῶν Ἀκαδημικῶν ἡγεμὼν περιπατητικῶς)

To fill his office rightly the College President should rarely, if ever, be seen in his own bailiwick. Once of necessity a vicar of Zeus and a philomath, later an expert at separating talents and drachmae from hypertrophied Foundations and plethoric Captains of Industry, he is now forever hot-footing it, Hermeswise, leaping from one ἀγορά, βουλή, or ἐκκλησία to another, from Women's Clubs to Chambers of Commerce, showering on every hand with lavish lip glittering generalities and saccharine periphrases, in sooth a past master at philosophastering on any subject. His scholarship has been delegated to his underpaid faculty, his talents are spent buying tickets and publicity, and seeing that his utterances appear in the proper Journals of Opinion, while the raising of endowments has for him become a mere matter of signing a contract with professional Drive Managers on a percentage basis, or doing Orpheum Circuit monologues before State Legislatures.

Education is his avocation, a side-line rarely touched upon. In a torrent of lilting language he can soothe the worried hearts of an assembled multitude of schoolmistresses and send them away comforted but no wiser. "I beg of you," he says to them persuasively, "to consider these matters earnestly, for they are of

fundamental importance." "What did he mean?" the women ask themselves anxiously; "but wasn't it a beautiful talk!"

He is at the height of his glory as he sits, clothed in purple and scarlet, in his own annual assembly, and in a few well-chosen but unintelligible pre-Hellenic phrases confers the honors of Academe upon eager victims of a highly developed but more or less hopeless system of mental training.

Yesterday an inconspicuous toiler; today a πανουργος in a variety of spot-lights; tomorrow — emeritus. Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἐλέησον αὐτόν.

* * * * *

II

THE FRATERNITY MAN

(Τὸ ἀδελφίδιον)

An anomaly in the educational process, the fraternity man persists in keeping his little side-show vigorously going both by day and by night — chiefly by night. Just what his mysteriously symbolized ἀδελφότης has to do with learning, like the secrets of his Chapter Room, has never been divulged. It is futile to enquire.

His interests are wide, ranging from οἶνος, ἑταιῖραι, and αἰοιδή — or, as he calls them in his own patois, "gin, gender, and jazz" — to a ten-drachma seat at the cinema.

His sky is unclouded save at each semester's end, when, should he desire to continue his pleasant and care-free associations, he must join, with such mental effort as he can spare from the arduous task of sporting raiment of many hues, in a nerve-racking and orgiastic celebration of the academic *Eleusinia*, known in these latter days as Final Examinations. These he enters upon with what assurance he may be able to extract from the knowledge that, concealed in the recesses of his *chiton*, lies a hippic helper, the potency of which depends altogether upon its possessor's power to maintain a high degree of low visibility during the ordeal.

Verily, the *horse* "knoweth its owner, and the ass his master's crib."

The fraternity man is afloat upon the wine-dark sea in a sieve, knowing not whither bound, with a dance program for a sail, a billiard cue for a tiller, a saxophone for a breeze-maker, and a "pipe" for a course. And so

He sails and he sails and he sails,
But never to Rome or Greece;
And when the sieve sinks, as most sieves will,
In *bonds* he finds release.

* * * * *

III

THE EGOTISTICAL PROFESSOR

(ὁ μεγακεφάλαιος διδάσκαλος)

A comparatively rare disease, happily, is professorial cerebral elephantiasis. Its symptoms are easily observed: gross and continuous objurgations without cause; violent reaction to ordinary and expected student ignorance; inextinguishable verbosity; colossal intolerance.

His attitude in classroom toward his "defective and moronic auditors," as he calls them, is like that of Odysseus toward the ἄνδρες δῆμον: "Hearken, varlets, to the words of your betters!" In no moment of humility or discouragement does he ever ask himself:

Qualem me iuvenum custodem di genuerunt?

or wonder what may be behind that student query, sporadically heard in many of our institutions of learning: Shall not the lecture system be abolished, the student turned loose in a world of books and ideas, and made — rather inspired — to do his own thinking under gentle guidance?

The dejected student, desirous of investigating on his own account, at the end of the hour cringing before the dais and

humbly begging to know the sources whence the megacephalic one drew his thrilling remarks, is met with a gelid glance and the crushing reply that every theory, every criticism, every hypothesis, every opinion advanced on that platform is wholly original, was never thought of or dealt with before, and will never be so adequately presented again elsewhere.

But the dejected student, quickly evaporating, hies him to his Plato, his Aristotle, his Epictetus, or his Tully, and there discovers how much better it was all said long ago. And so with choicest Thersitean maledictions he writes upon the classroom blackboard in the quiet of the night:

Animus sapientis nunquam turgescit.

* * * * *

IV

THE BOB-HAIRED CO-ED

(ἡ κόρη κόμην κεκαρμένη)

She is the embodiment of life, the personification of vitality, as, clad with respect to her outer person in a leopard's skin, and with respect to her inner in diaphanous and exiguous vestments, she trips, bounces, or whizzes, a glorious maenad, into the dull classroom of a gray morning, and proceeds with fawnlike gestures and exaggerated conspicuity to open her *pyxis vanitatis*, arrange her Gorgonian locks, and with pulverous puff to remove all traces of natural erythema from her classic little nose. In the variety of her movements she out-Lodores that famous cataract. In the honeyed phrases of her excuses for being unprepared she out-Hymettuses that celebrated apiary; and she can out-Stentor the Homeric cheer-leader himself in yoo-hooing across the campus to some fellow Bacchante.

Indifferent to scholastic demands she will, if she can, like her male contemporary, limit her efforts to less than the irreducible minimum required; but with such hypnotic grace and well-disguised pretension does she carry on that more often than not she

acquires the coveted honor, that *magnum desideratum* of the *nouveaux riches*, that alleged talisman whereby social and commercial success may be conjured forth, a baccalaureate degree.

The faint and subtle odor of *tabacum Turcicum* exhales from her hair and her cloud-like drapery. Her saffron limbs of Rubensian sturdiness are the envy of Aphrodite. Superbly strong, physically faultless, she wins the laurel in sports and games. Strangely mingled in her is τὸ αἰ γυναικεῖον with τὸ ἀνδρεῖον. To the drab world of learning she lends a thousand splashes of color, even causing Deans to see red and feel blue. And a past mistress she at diverting pertinent discussion into extraneous channels. With well-simulated bovine serenity she faces her classroom interlocutors, never permitting so minor a consideration as ignorance to interfere with a successful and often brilliant logomachy. If the standards of required work are raised, she girds herself forthwith and easily leaps the new barriers. She cannot be downed or defeated, for is she not — this continuous but enticing “problem,” this subject of dissection to anxious elders, this frenzied frequenter of the polished floors of *La Maison de la Danse* — is she not to be the mother of our grandchildren? Is she not *Spes Patriae* no less than the lean-limbed daughters of another species but the same genus, who brandished the *thyrsus* among the crags of Parnassus and Cithaeron, or graced in gay garlands the Roman Saturnalia?

* * * * *

V

THE PROCRUSTEAN DEAN

(Προκρούστης ὁ τῶν παιδίων ἐπιστάτης)

“Students were made for the Rules, not the Rules for the Students,” quoth the Dean with rasping finality. “You will notice how busy I am. Kindly see me again tomorrow during my regular office hours from 11:55 to 12.”

At the appointed time the dejected Senior appears, only to learn that his graduation has been postponed six months because

forsooth "his physical education is incomplete," owing to his failure on one occasion during his freshman year to count and report to his Class Adviser the number of strokes he took in a handball game.

In sorrow and amazement he departs, sorrow over the dear dead days when academic elasticity made due allowance for individual capacities, desires, and ambitions; amazement at the fearful complexity of that vast inescapable machine for subjugating and standardizing University products. He muses: Who is this Procrustes in the decanal saddle, clattering through our halls, and snatching up our youthful would-be skeptics, honest questioners, fact-seekers, lovers of beauty and poetry, and carrying them off to be laid upon uniform beds of horror, and their tender limbs stretched or cut to fit?

Is he not perchance merely the agent of the System, the watcher of Academia's rule-ridden mechanism? And is not the latter the ill-begotten progeny of our menacing πνεῦμα δημοκρατικὸν by the devouring demon of Industrialism? Must Academe forever remain a victim of this malignant and levelling force? Must the Free Will, the Questing Spirit of our youth be chained to the stake of mediocrity, or be pressed into a million duplicate molds?

Thus ponders the rejected Senior, while the Dean is already immersed in his afternoon Bridge game.

* * * * *

VI

THE TOUGH-MINDED PROFESSOR

(ὁ διδάσκαλος φυχὴν πολὺν πεπεμμένος)

Enthusiastic and loose-tongued (πολυεπής) in his earlier years, and defiant of newspaper notoriety that slays its thousands, and once nearly slew him, he has learned through parlous experience, failure, and disillusionment the golden quality of silence. Such few pronouncements as he is willing to make are eagerly heard, for his philosophy is deep and mature, and his mind a mine of the world's wisdom.

He reads omnivorously, from the sclerotic prose of post-classical periods to the lachrymose confessions of "*The Fallen Flapper of the Follies*" (ἡ ἀμαρτάνουσα παῖς τοῦ χοροῦ), as set forth in the very popular periodical with the ruddy, giddy, and by no means asexual cover. Nor does he apologize for this latter indulgence, for is it not true, as he says, that a well-coagulated mind, steeped in the lore of the ancient poets and dramatists, can safely, if not salutarily, though doubtless with negative results, peruse the ubiquitous sob-stuff parading as literature that furnishes needed thrills to the barren lives of untutored thousands?

To your Tough-minded Professor the cinema, which he sedulously attends, is of course a diversion and not *pabulum*. At all times and on all occasions he is a student of humanity as well as of the humanities.

Two or three of his classroom *obiter dicta* have been preserved in a student notebook: "We do not so much need *Doctors* as *Teachers*. . . . It is the craze for uniformity of education, and particularly for uniform tests of education in the shape of mass examinations, that is at the bottom of our trouble. If we must all be put through the same educational drill, I prefer that it should be on the Ablative Absolute. So far as my limited experience has gone, the only students who really know anything about English grammar learned it while studying Latin. That they did not know they were learning it, or that they did not much like learning it, has nothing to do with the case, *me iudice* . . . The thing that is spoiling our education today is not the Ablative Absolute; it is the Democracy Dissolute."

But best of all to him, now that he walks Life's Western Slope, is, as he himself has confessed, "the closer consciousness of vital fellowship with his forerunners on the road." He has always known the things they said, but "were they not largely things in books, belonging to some system of philosophy, professional utterances of an authoritative voice on a far pinnacle of academic remoteness?" Not so now, for he has overtaken these men on the journey, and finds that "their words were simple, *living*

words," fraught with a wisdom and a beauty which he himself is now proving.

As his hair grows grayer, and his daily burden a little lighter, and as his students rise up to call him blessed, he murmurs in his last days:

O miserum senem, qui non viderit mortem contemnendam esse in tam longa aetate!

* * * * *

Long-suffering hearers, you have heard these six
Allegéd sketches from beyond the Styx.
Without a doubt, when Smith and I shall swell
The ranks of them that walk in asphodel,
Most delicately we shall pass the abode
Of him whose shade inspired this episode.
We grant without protest that Theophrastus
And *his own* "Characters" will long outlast *us*.

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent direct to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

TELEMACHUS' SOJOURN AT SPARTA

Mr. Shewan in his interesting paper on Telemachus at Sparta¹ comes to the conclusion "that we are justified, on the material available in the text of the *Odyssey*, in believing that the poet's intention from the first was that Telemachus was to spend some time on his travels, and that the requirement that this should be explicitly stated in the poem is an infringement of the liberty of its creator." This is of course a very sound view. It has occurred to me, however, to wonder whether this is a case where Homer nods. If he does, well and good. But may he not have nodded intentionally? In other words may Homer not have allowed certain discrepancies in the poem consciously, when he realized that by such discrepancies he might attain greater force and clarity? What I mean is this: Telemachus toward the end of the Book iv is left at Sparta, or else has set out for home; Athene goes to summon him home in Book xv; meantime our attention has been directed to Odysseus rather than Telemachus; hence Homer takes this way of emphasizing Telemachus' return by definitely turning our interest once more to Odysseus' son. In an epic poem, the reader's or the listener's comprehension must be stimulated. Simplicity and clarity take precedence over slight irregularities, chronological and otherwise; and these qualities are gained, I believe, in this instance by focusing our attention on Telemachus, disregarding the matter of chronology.

Perhaps this point can be made clearer by reference to an instance which seems to be similar in character. In Book i (line 82 ff.) Athene suggests to Zeus that Hermes be sent to Ogygia to announce at once to Calypso the return of Odysseus, which the gods have decreed. Athene herself starts immediately for Ithaca, and we are

¹ The CLASSICAL JOURNAL, October, 1926.

led to suppose that Hermes, too, sets out. Though this is not stated, I think it a reasonable thought on the part of the reader.

But at the beginning of Book v Athene renews her appeal in behalf of Odysseus, and Zeus sends Hermes to Ogygia, without reference to the previous idea of sending the messenger at once. Of course those who postulate a Τηλεμαχία and a Νόστος 'Οδυσσέως² will offer a different explanation of this matter. But that is hardly necessary. We have been following the fortunes of Telemachus. Now Homer bids us remember that Odysseus must be sent on his way home from Ogygia. We are first warned in Book i that Hermes is going to release Odysseus, and then in Book v are informed again of the fact in the most emphatic way possible — by seeing Hermes go to Ogygia. This is merely literary technique. Is it not possible that the case of Telemachus in Sparta is to be thought of in the same way?

HERBERT EDWARD MIEROW

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WAS HOMER CONTEMPORARY WITH THE TROJAN WAR?

The ancient Greeks had no definite date for the life of Homer: some believed him to have been a spectator of the siege of Troy (the *Life of Homer* assigned to Plutarch, chap. v.); others assigned him to the time of King Gyges, that is, to the seventh century (authorities quoted by Sengebusch, *Dissertatio Prior*, p. 14).

There are two fixed dates in determining the age of Homer: first, the Trojan War which he describes; second, the definite mention of his name by Xenophanes. All the evidences unite in dating the Trojan War early in the twelfth century, while Xenophanes is known to have lived in the second half of the sixth.

Herodotus ii. 53 assigned Homer to a period four hundred years before his own time, hence to about 850. Thucydides i. 3. 3 says that Homer did not use the name Hellenes as a general designation for the Greeks, yet Homer lived long after the Trojan War. These two great historians, the earliest and the best authorities, agree in consigning Homer to a date much later than the era which is the background of his poetry.

Doctor Doerpfeld, an archaeologist of the very first rank, argues

² See note on l. 7, Book v, in Merry and Riddell: *Homer's Odyssey*, Books i-xii, 2nd Ed., Revised, 1886.

that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* repeat with such minute and unconscious accuracy all the details of the civilization of the early part of the twelfth century that the poet could hardly have lived later than the events which he describes, and he believes that the actors of the poems may well have been known to Homer himself.

Does Homer look upon the heroic age as his own, or does he picture a glorified and remote past?

The evidence is surprisingly slight. The *Odyssey* distinguishes between its own age and the age of mightier heroes; *e.g.*, Odysseus boasts (viii. 222) in the presence of the Phaeacians that he is the best archer now living, but he would not vie with the famous archers of former generations. However, I can find nothing in the *Odyssey* which shows any contrast between the age of the hero and the age of the poet. That is, the *Odyssey* does not claim to be picturing an earlier and mightier civilization.

The *Iliad* in several places contrasts the men then living with the men who fought before Troy. Diomedes (v. 302) threw without effort a rock so large that it could not have been carried by two men, such as men now are.

Ajax (xii. 382) hurled aloft a rock of such weight that a strong man of those now living could scarcely bear it with both his hands. Hector (xii. 447) alone and unaided threw a huge rock, a rock that would test two men of this day to move it with a lever from the ground into a wagon. Aeneas (xx. 285) single-handed threw a rock which two men of this day could hardly carry.

These four men, Diomedes, Ajax, Hector, and Aeneas, belong to a race of men greatly superior to those of the poet's own day. It is to be observed that no distinction is made between the Greeks and the Trojans, since two from each are thus described.

The god of sleep, Hypnos, went up into a very high pine tree which grew at that time on Mt. Ida. The scholiast to that passage (xiv. 287) remarks that the poet shrewdly said "at that time," since no such pines grew when the poem was created.

Just before the Catalogue of the Ships the poet begs the Muses to tell the names of the leaders and chieftains of the Greeks, "for we know only vague report and nothing clear." The fact that the poet disclaims all personal knowledge, even of the leaders, shows that he could hardly have been a spectator of the war.

The poet sometimes mentions in similes things which do not appear

in the action of the poems, e.g., the use of the trumpet and the display of skill in riding horses; hence the assumption that these things did not belong to the age described but had their origin between the heroic age and that of the poet. Such evidence is of little value in determining the relative age of the poet and his theme.

I see nothing in the *Odyssey* itself which contradicts the theory of Doerpfeld that the poet is singing of men he actually knew. We know that Dante owed much to the sixth book of Vergil, and Vergil to the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, yet the men Dante saw in the *Inferno* were often of his own time and acquaintance. We cannot refuse a like privilege to Homer.

The *Iliad* has four passages, as well attested as any in the entire poem, which show without any sort of exegesis the belief of the poet that his heroes belonged to an earlier and mightier generation.

One need not hesitate, if the archaeological evidence is sufficient, to add two hundred to the four hundred years of Herodotus and to put Homer in the eleventh century, but it is impossible to assign him to an earlier date without the deletion of verses found in all the best manuscripts and which have never been questioned except in the support of some theory. This would agree with the date in the *Life* assigned to Herodotus, which puts Homer 168 years after the Trojan War.

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TERENCE *PHORMIO* V. 8.3 (ELMER'S TEXT)

CHR. Estne ita uti dixi liberalis? DE. Oppido.

Elmer's critical note is as follows: "896. This verse is found in the MSS after 905, but it is clear that it properly comes before Phormio joins in the conversation." The Oxford Text (Tyrrell) follows the MSS tradition without comment. Ashmore, while following Tyrrell's text, gives the following note in his Appendix: "905. All the MSS have this verse here, but the verse is clearly out of place. It should come after 895, and to that point Fleck. and Dz. have transferred it. See Dz. (Adn. Crit.)."

The first principle of "higher criticism" is that the consensus of good MSS is correct until proved incorrect. In this case we are dealing with a consensus of all MSS, not simply of all *good* MSS. The burden of the proof is therefore thrown upon those wishing to make the change.

If the MSS tradition¹ be followed, we have the following situation: Demipho and Chremes have been for some time at the former's home, where the identity of Phanium as Chremes' daughter has been established to the complete satisfaction of Demipho. As the two men come out of the house, Demipho voices his gratitude at the dénouement in lines 894-895. Then, true to the character which Terence has consistently depicted throughout the play, Demipho immediately recalls the fact that they have before them an urgent task, one to be done at once or not at all. Phormio then appears from his place of concealment in the alley, and he and Demipho begin the long argument over the disposition of the "thirty pieces of silver."

In the meantime Chremes wanders aimlessly around, his mind completely occupied with his great good fortune: his daughter married as he wishes, the girl's mother out of the way, the girl grown into a ladylike young woman whom Demipho may well be pleased to acknowledge as his daughter-in-law. Chremes cares little about the money in comparison with this happiness, and, as he shows later, he is perfectly willing to let Phormio keep the money to preserve peace on all sides. Finally, feeling that he must say something to someone, Chremes bluntly interrupts the conversation between Phormio and Demipho (Phormio has been talking at top speed for several lines, and probably paused a second to catch his breath) with "Isn't she a real lady, as I told you?" Demipho, interested wholly now in recovering the money, replies briefly, "Very much so"; and the money discussion now goes on, with Chremes for the first time paying some attention to it also.

From a dramatic standpoint, the MSS reading appears to me to be much the stronger.

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¹ In the following, the MSS numbering of the lines is used.

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Mr. Walter A. Edwards, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible.]

Fellowships of the American Academy in Rome

The American Academy in Rome announces its annual competitions for the Fellowships in Classical Studies. There is one Fellowship for two years and one Fellowship for one year, each with an annual stipend of \$1,250, with residence in the Academy free of charge. There is opportunity for extensive travel, including a trip to Greece. The competitions are open to unmarried men or women who are citizens of the United States. Applications will be received until March first.

Persons who desire to compete for one of these Fellowships must fill out a form of application and file it with the Secretary, together with letters of recommendation, not later than March 1. They must submit evidence of attainment in Latin literature, Greek literature, Greek and Roman history and archaeology, and also ability to use German and French. A knowledge of Italian is strongly recommended. They should also submit published or unpublished papers so as to indicate their fitness to undertake special work in Rome.

The Fellows will be selected by a jury of nine eminent scholars without examination other than the submission of the required papers.

For circular and application blank apply to Roscoe Guernsey, Executive Secretary of the Academy, 101 Park Avenue, New York City.

Colorado Classical Section

The following program was given at the Classical Section of the Colorado Education Association on November 12 and 13:

Latin Songs; "New Light on a Dark Corner," Ralph N. Morrison, Greeley; Open Discussion, "The Co-ordination of Junior and Senior High-School Latin," led by A. K. Loomis, Director of Curriculum Revision, Denver Public Schools; "Oedipus at Colonus" of Sophocles, presented by the University of Denver Chapter of National Collegiate Players; "The Correlation of English and Latin," Marjorie O'Brien, Cripple Creek; "Greek for Latin Teachers," Herbert E. Mierow, Colorado Springs; "Latin as a Compulsory Subject in the High School," H. L. McGinnis, Buena Vista.

The officers this year were: President, E. D. Cressman, University of Denver; Secretary, Mrs. Hattie May Brown Fowler, Byers Junior High School, Denver. Officers elected for next year are: President, Miss Myrna Langley, North High School, Denver; Secretary, Mrs. Nellie E. Miles, Morey Junior High School, Denver.

Connecticut Section of the Classical Association

The annual meeting of the Connecticut Section of the Classical Association of New England was held at the beautiful home of Albertus Magnus College, New Haven, Connecticut, November 6, 1926. The authorities of the College had spared no pains to make the occasion an enjoyable one, and seldom has the Connecticut section been entertained more delightfully. Special credit is due to Dr. Moseley, who presided at the meeting, for his enthusiasm and thoughtfulness.

About one hundred members and friends of the Association attended the meeting and sixty-seven stayed for luncheon. The members were the guests of the Yale Athletic Association at the Yale-Maryland football game in the afternoon.

The meeting opened with a welcome on behalf of the College by the Rev. Arthur H. Chandler, O.P. Father Chandler pointed out that Blessed Albertus Magnus, *doctor universalis*, had been one of the founders of the classical movement in the Middle Ages, and that it was due to him that Aristotle came to play such an important part in Scholastic philosophy, and that his great pupil, Thomas Aquinas, showed such familiarity with classical authors as to quote thirty-six, exclusive of doctors and fathers of the Church. Dr. Edith F. Claffin responded on behalf of the Association.

The first paper was given by Dr. Clark Hopkins, of Yale University. Under the title, "The Trial of Isidorus and Lampo before

Claudius," he showed that a re-examination of the evidence points to the earlier date for this trial, i.e., 41 A.D., rather than to the later date, 52-53 A.D., which Wilcher and Paemerstein propose.

The next paper was given by Professor Julia H. Caverno, of Smith College, the president of the Association. Under the title of "Three Greek Women" she considered the lives and characters of Alcestis, Medea, and Arete, and showed how Medea and Arete (and their husbands) would have reacted to the problem of Alcestis.

Professor A. M. Harmon, of Yale University, then read a paper on Lucian's *Astrology*, in which he described his conversion to the belief that the piece is a genuine work of Lucian, especially because of the reminiscences of phrase and subject from undoubtedly genuine works.

The meeting was closed by Professor McCrea's paper, "Some Aspects of Intelligence," in which he pleaded for a fairness toward the opinions of others, a search for the objective truth, and the development of intellectual curiosity, an inquiring habit of mind. To inculcate such ideas, he said, is in the power of all teachers of the classics.

Iowa Latin Round Table

At the Latin Round Table held in connection with the Iowa State Teachers' Association the following papers were presented:

"The Pupil's Attack on the Latin Sentence," Professor Franklin H. Potter, State University; "Prose Composition in First- and Second-Year Latin," Miss Margaret King, West High School, Des Moines; "Cicero Mirabilis," Mrs. Margaret Pratt, Fort Dodge; "The Stem of the Third-Conjugation Verbs of the *Duco* Type," Professor J. H. Bridgham, Grinnell College.

Professor C. O. Denny, of Drake University, was the chairman of the meeting. A most enjoyable feature of the meeting was the Latin teachers, luncheon, Friday noon preceding the Round Table. This was arranged by Miss Maisy B. Schreiner, secretary of the Round Table. The chairman for next year is Dr. Louisa Walker, of the State University.

Iowa State Hellenic Society

At the annual banquet of the Iowa State Hellenic Society Professor W. S. Ebersole, of Cornell College, gave the principal address on "The Work of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens." Professor J. S. Magnuson, of the State University, presided. The president for next year is Professor R. C. Flickinger, of the State University.

Kansas Latin Round Table

The Latin Round Table of the Topeka meeting of the Kansas State Teachers' Association met on November 5. Mrs. Hazel Maxson, of the Iola High School, was chairman of the meeting. Miss Lillian B. Lawler, of the University of Kansas, was elected chairman for next year. The program of papers was as follows:

"Content of Latin in the Second and Third Years," Florence Godsey, Emporia; discussed by Jennie P. Douglas, Emporia, and Mary W. Sellards, Kansas City, Kansas; "Interest Devices in High-School Latin," Lillian B. Lawler, University of Kansas; "A Summer in Rome," Mary McKinney, Lawrence; "Caesar's Geographical Errors," A. T. Walker, University of Kansas.

Classical League of the Lehigh Valley

The Classical League of the Lehigh Valley held its semi-annual meeting at the Moravian Seminary and College for Women, Bethlehem, Pa., December 4, 1926. The meeting was opened by the president, Dr. Horace W. Wright, of Lehigh University. After the reading of the minutes the following officers were elected: President, Dr. Henry V. Shelley, of Lafayette College; Vice-President, Dr. Robert C. Horn, of Muhlenberg College; Secretary and Treasurer, Miss Mary L. Hess, of Liberty High School, Bethlehem; Executive Committee, Dr. Horace W. Wright, Chairman, Dr. Henry V. Shelley, and Miss Mary L. Hess.

The *Report of the Classical Investigation*, Part I, was reviewed by Miss Mary L. Hess. This was followed by an interesting discussion, in which many of those present took part.

Dr. Arthur S. Cooley, of the Moravian Seminary and College for Women, gave a splendid lecture on "Some Roman Monuments on French Soil," illustrated with about sixty slides, many of them colored.

New Jersey Classical Association

The New Jersey Classical Association has held two meetings this year, both as parts of general teachers' meetings. In addition to the programs of papers, which follow, there were interesting laboratory exhibits. The officers are: Edna White, Wm. L. Dickinson High School, President; Charles W. Blakeslee, Chattle High School, Long Branch, Secretary-Treasurer.

MEETING AT RUTGERS UNIVERSITY, MAY 8

"Striking off the Fetters," Richard Mott Gummere, William Penn Charter School, Philadelphia; "Marcus Tullius Cicero—Citizen," Gonzales Lodge,

Columbia University; "The Classic Mind in Britain and America," Mather A. Abbott, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville; "*Ex Cunabulis*," Raymond F. Haulenbeek, Barringer High School, Newark; "The Quest for a Promised Land," Isabel Holmes, High School, Summit; "American Academy in Rome" (Illustrated), Juanita Downes, Cheltenham Township High School, Philadelphia.

MEETING AT ATLANTIC CITY, NOVEMBER 12

"What of the Third Year?" Marjorie L. McIntyre, Atlantic City High School; "The Biography of Ovid in the High-School Course," Arthur A. Wheeler, Princeton University; "On Reading Virgil Aloud," Charles Knapp, Barnard College, Columbia University.

Ohio Classical Conference

The Fifth Annual Meeting of the Ohio Classical Conference was held November 11-13 at Cincinnati, with the University of Cincinnati and the high schools of Cincinnati as hosts. Headquarters were at the Hotel Sinton, where most of the sessions were held and where the Latin Laboratory exhibit was most advantageously displayed. The Friday morning session was held at the University and was followed by a luncheon served at Hughes High School. Notable attractions in addition to the regular meetings of the Conference were the visit Thursday evening to the art collections in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Charles P. Taft. This was appropriately preceded by talks on Mr. Taft's collections of paintings and porcelains, which are among the finest private collections in the country. Another very enjoyable attraction was the concert of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, Friday afternoon.

The papers presented were of exceptionally fine quality, and several of them were given considerable notice in the public press. In his talk preceding the regular program of Friday evening Superintendent Randall J. Condon, of Cincinnati, expressed himself strongly in favor of classical studies and evinced his active interest in the goodly number studying Greek at the Walnut Hills High School.

The replica of the Hildesheim Vase (presented to the Conference last year by the Oberlin Classical Club) was awarded for the coming year to the Lincoln High School, Cleveland, as having the best exhibit at the Latin Laboratory.

Professor Victor D. Hill, of Ohio University, was re-elected President. Professor Marbury B. Ogle, of the Ohio State University, succeeds F. L. Clark, of Miami University, as Secretary-Treasurer. The registration exceeded two hundred, and the actual attendance,

including those not members of the Conference, was at some sessions nearly four hundred. The next meeting is to be held in Cleveland.

The program of papers was as follows:

THURSDAY AFTERNOON

H. F. Gilmer, Heidelberg University, "Pliny's Conception of Womanhood as Revealed in his Epistles"; Jos. F. Kiefer, S. J., St. Xavier College, "Hecuba as Presented at Holy Cross College"; Alice Hill Byrne, Western College, "Greece in April"; Anna B. Sturgis, Oberlin College, "Just Vergil"; Marbury B. Ogle, Ohio State University, "Some Thoughts of a Heretic."

THURSDAY EVENING

John Dee Wareham, "The Taft Porcelains"; Dixie Selden, "The Taft Paintings."

FRIDAY MORNING

Estelle Hamilton, Scott High School and The University of the City of Toledo, "The Art of Interesting Beginners in Latin"; Harlan Parker, West High School, Cleveland, "Caesar and Mussolini"; Henry A. Preston, Cuyahoga Falls High School, "*Loquerisne Latine?*"; Grace M. Price, Bellaire High School, "The Cultural Possibilities of Cicero"; Robert P. Casey, University of Cincinnati, "Books and Men in the Monasteries of Mt. Athos." (Illustrated.)

FRIDAY EVENING

Greetings, President Frederick C. Hicks, University of Cincinnati; Superintendent Randall J. Condon, Cincinnati Public Schools; Response, Wallace S. Elden, First Vice-President, Ohio Classical Conference; Joseph S. Graydon, Attorney-at-Law, Cincinnati, "The Story of a Story of Troy, from Homer to Shakespeare"; B. A. G. Fuller, Professor of Philosophy, University of Cincinnati, "The Adventure of Plato's Life."

SATURDAY MORNING

Ella F. Frank, Wooster High School, "The Course of Study in Second-Year Latin"; Catherine R. Martin, Jackson High School, "Detours in the Teaching of Latin"; Clark S. Fullerton, East High School, Columbus, "Some Problems of the Third-Year Latin Teacher"; Hugh A. Cameron, West High School, Cleveland, "Caesar and Vercingetorix, Notes from Auvergne in 1918."

Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Victor D. Hill, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio. It is the aim of this department to furnish teachers of high-school Latin with material which will be of direct and immediate help in the classroom. Teachers are requested to send to the editor of the department short paragraphs dealing with matters of content, teaching devices, methods, and materials which they have found helpful. Questions regarding teaching problems are also invited. Replies to these will be published in this department if they seem to be of general interest; otherwise they will, so far as possible, be answered by mail. It will, in general, be the policy of this department to publish all such contributions as seem of value and general interest.]

Haec Omnia — Tum Scribite

This department of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, which from its beginning has carried the caption "Hints for Teachers," stands in a unique and difficult relation to the rest of the JOURNAL. It is printed within the pages of a publication which contains articles of high grade written by high-school and college teachers who know how to present matters of content and scholarship in a way which lends dignity and prestige to the publication and to the Association which sponsors it. But it must serve not only teachers with years of scholarship, training, and experience in the best schools of the land; it must serve the twenty-five per cent of our teachers who have no training beyond the high school; it must serve the forty per cent of the Latin teachers in places with population of less than 2500 people who have not studied Latin beyond the secondary-school stage; and it must serve the large number of those who are teaching one, two, or four years of Latin without having themselves had more training in the language than two or three years in the high school. It must serve teachers who, with no plans or intentions of teaching the language, find themselves forced by circumstances or by school superintendents to do so in schools without equipment and divorced from all centers of information, association, and suggestion. It must serve also those teachers who have at hand adequate equipment, good libraries, and a wealth of opportunities for exchanging ideas and for keeping in touch with the best the profession can offer.

Many members of the Association enjoy the JOURNAL for its notes and articles of technical scholarship; others read only those which are

lighter in vein; a third group find their chief justification for continuing their membership in the practical aid they can secure from "Current Events" and "Hints for Teachers." But all these feel that "Hints for Teachers" should be measured according to their ideals and standards. The officers of the Association and the editors of the JOURNAL desire to maintain a standard of scholarship, quality, and dignity which will command the respect, if not the admiration, of students and scholars in this country and abroad.

To attain to these demands is a task as poetic as that of Hercules in cleaning the Augean stables. Yet there seems no denying the fact that the work initiated and long conducted by Professor Ullman has a definite place in the mission of the JOURNAL and should not be discontinued. So it is that the editor *ad interim* has consented to continue at the post, although with much hesitation and doubt and with a feeling that we have come to the crossroads where all who have ever had an opinion regarding "Hints for Teachers" should aid in the inventory and help to decide what future policies will make the department most useful to the advancement of classical education.

No other department of the JOURNAL so much belongs to every one. In no other department of the JOURNAL does the nature and quality of the content so much depend upon every one. In other words this department is in a unique sense related to every teacher of Latin and Greek and must be what you want it to be. Perhaps some of the material it contains must seem trivial or hackneyed to those of learning and experience. Perhaps such a department can never maintain a dignity in keeping with that of the JOURNAL as a whole.

If, on the other hand, the department may have the support of all those interested in seeing not only better teaching but higher scholarship in the teaching of classical subjects, it may hope to approach such a standard. To do so, that support is from every point of view essential and must be given and received in all seriousness. This is true in contributions to the content of the department. And it is equally true in ideas as to what the department should be; the opinions, criticisms, and suggestions which you have been expressing to others, or perhaps have not expressed at all, write to the editor of this department. He bespeaks your co-operation.

Book Reviews

The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire. By M. ROSTOVITZ, Professor of Ancient History in Yale University. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1926. Pp. xxv+695. \$15.00.

To every serious student of the Roman empire this volume will be not only welcome but indispensable. Professor Rostovtzeff has admirably described the aim and scope of his work in the preface. It is an attempt, the first of its kind, to trace the social and economic development of the Roman empire as a whole and to connect this with its constitutional and administrative development and with the foreign and domestic policy of the emperors. The importance and significance of such a work are obvious. It has long been recognized that the history of the Roman empire still remains to be written, for no modern historian would maintain that a narrative of the rise and fall of emperors, mostly unimportant, and a dreary catalogue of their wars and battles, mostly meaningless, is history in any true sense. Fortunately the material for a different treatment of the period has of recent years accumulated rapidly. Through the researches of archaeologists a vast mass of information concerning the ancient world has been brought to light, but the difficulty of utilizing this information has remained almost insurmountable. It has been dispersed in special studies, monographs, and journals, and it has generally been presented in archaeological terms. We have had available admirable descriptions of the ruins of ancient villas and cities and of the various objects found in them; but, after all, what did these discoveries mean and what conclusions could be drawn from them? The work of Professor Rostovtzeff is an attempt to answer such questions, and to the reviewer it seems to be so far successful as to constitute a contribution of extraordinary value to the historical study of the Roman empire.

The main conclusions of Professor Rostovtzeff may be summarized briefly by stating in broad outline his conception of the decline and fall of the Roman empire. Some of the current explanations of this great tragedy he rejects and gives weighty reasons for rejecting. Thus he shows that the theory of a gradual decline in the population cannot be accepted (p. 328-9) and that such a decrease, when we

have adequate grounds for believing that it took place, was a symptom rather than a cause. If depopulation is rejected as a cause, it more or less carries with it the allied explanations of the exhaustion of the soil and racial contamination, to which in addition other serious objections are pointed out (pp. 329-30, 485-6). The solution of the problem offered by Professor Rostovtzeff is based on the social and economic history of the empire as a whole. He regards the empire in its flourishing period as resting on the municipal *bourgeoisie*, the educated and enlightened class in the cities. The feverish activity of the ablest emperors in seeking to multiply cities by new foundations he considers as evidence that this fact was clearly recognized by them. In spite of their efforts, however, the basis remained too narrow and too unstable for the superstructure. The vast majority of the population continued rural, agricultural, and barbarous. The cities were islands of civilization, but they failed to elevate and civilize the masses. On the contrary, the antagonism between the urban class and the peasantry grew into hatred; and the army, having fallen under the control of the peasants, destroyed the municipal *bourgeoisie*. This is to Professor Rostovtzeff the underlying significance of the anarchy of the third century. He sees in it a vast social convulsion, an uprising of the country against the city, which ended in the destruction of the essentially urban civilization of the ancient world. When order was finally restored by Diocletian, the government was forced to base its power on the more or less barbarous peasantry, since the cultured class of the cities was too completely crushed to give it adequate support. The inevitable result was an oriental despotism, because the primitive population of the country was unable to comprehend a system so subtle as the principate of Augustus or the enlightened monarchy of the Antonines. But the question will at once suggest itself, why did the cities prove unequal to their task of supporting the empire and controlling it? If they were able to do so for the first two hundred years of its existence, why did their power crumble in the third century? Professor Rostovtzeff answers this question by a careful survey of the development of the economic life of the empire, into which, deeply interesting and suggestive as it is, there is here no space to follow him in detail. In brief he finds that, while the early empire was a period of prosperity for the cities, this prosperity rested always on a somewhat unstable foundation, and that their economic development was arrested. Thus they were found too weak to bear the strain put upon them in the third century. When

the economic life of the cities was destroyed, the state was forced to adopt a cruder fiscal and political system adapted to the cruder life of the peasants, and thus the ruin of the *bourgeoisie* led to the bureaucratic despotism of Diocletian and Constantine. To free themselves from a dangerous dependence on the half-barbarous peasantry the emperors began to import barbarians from without, and these in their turn became dominant. The so-called Germanic invasions were, after all, mere incidents in the process.

Without attempting to pronounce a judgment on this general conception, which certainly contains a large measure of truth, it may be of interest to examine a little more in detail some of the views of Professor Rostovtzeff as to the history of the early empire. The reign of Augustus he pictures as "the time of real prosperity for Italy" (p. 59). Agriculture, commerce, and industry were all flourishing. Olive oil and wine played a leading part in the economic life of Italy, which supplied the Danubian provinces, Germany, Britain, Africa, and probably to some extent Gaul and Spain as well, with these products (p. 67). Industry was also thriving (p. 69), and in brief Italy was "the greatest center of agriculture, of commerce, and of industry in the West" (p. 74). But along with this went "the gradual disappearance of the peasants and the transformation of most of them into *coloni*," or tenants of the great landowners. Even in Northern and Central Italy, which had once been strongholds of the Italian peasantry, there was an increasing number of slaves and freedmen (p. 65). The period which followed Augustus saw a gradual development of economic life in the provinces; they began to compete with Italy in the production of olive oil and wine as well as in industry (p. 90-91). This resulted in an increase in the Italian proletariat (p. 88). Italian agriculture turned gradually to grain once more as the markets for oil and wine were lost and the great estates continued to absorb the small- and medium-sized ones (p. 93-7). These large estates tended to pass more and more into the hands of the emperor, who became the greatest landowner in the empire (p. 97). The result of these changes was profoundly felt in the political life of the state. The rule of Augustus, though based essentially upon Italy, had been supported by the urban element throughout the world, and the emperors sought steadily to promote the growth of cities and of city life. With the Flavians and Antonines the basis on which the government rested was broadened, and the cities of the empire as a whole became its foundation; the Italian

bourgeoisie gradually lost its predominance, and the provincial *bourgeoisie* became more powerful.

Along with the changes mentioned above the army underwent significant transformations. While in the days of the later republic the legions were recruited from the proletarians and poor peasants (p. 25), under Augustus the soldiers were drawn from all classes, for, the service having been made comparatively remunerative, many people, "even people of higher social standing, were now willing to join the ranks" (p. 42). Thus "the army of Augustus was no longer an army of proletarians" (p. 42). By the time of Nero its character had changed. It was still Italian (p. 85), but would seem to have become proletarian again, since Professor Rostovtzeff holds that in the year of the four emperors it showed "a growing enmity towards the ruling classes of Italy and their supporters, the praetorians, who represented the city population, and especially the city *bourgeoisie*, of Italy" (p. 87). So dangerous did this symptom appear to Vespasian that he ceased to recruit the legions in Italy, because, if he did so, he would be obliged to draw them "from the unruly, discontented, and highly inflammable elements of the population, the city and rural proletariat of Italy" (p. 88). In place of Italians Vespasian turned to the cities of the provinces and found there the soldiers he required. The result was that the army under the Flavians was in the main "an army recruited from the higher, that is, the most civilized and best educated, classes of the urbanized parts of the Empire" (p. 103). Such an army served as a safe basis for the imperial government, but it could not be maintained. Under the Antonines, in spite of their activity in founding new cities, the army became again an army of peasants, "the city dwellers having no inclination to serve in the army and not being very highly rated by the military officers" (p. 122). Hence, when the army could no longer be held in check, the soldiers turned upon the city *bourgeoisie* and destroyed them in the anarchy of the third century.

The reviewer must regretfully own that, to him at least, these changes in the character of the army do not seem adequately proved or explained. In the notes (note 2 on chapter II) we are informed that all statements as to the army of Augustus are conjectural, and that the social class to which the recruits belonged is difficult to determine; but the author declares that he is "disposed to believe that the ideal of Augustus was not an army of proletarians but an army based on the propertied classes of the cities of *cives Romani*." Granting

this, one must wonder whether Augustus succeeded better in realizing this ideal for the army than he did in attempting to promote large families among the Roman nobles by legislation. In any case the note hardly seems to justify the positive statement in the text (p. 42) that the "army of Augustus was no longer an army of proletarians." The basis of the affirmation is, however, made clear by the fact that it is offered as an explanation of why under Augustus "the army was almost completely quiet and did not attempt to take any part in political life." The explanation would be adequate, no doubt, but is it the only way in which the facts can be accounted for? There are other points which may somewhat perplex a thoughtful reader. If Augustus did succeed in recruiting his army from the propertied class of the Italian *bourgeoisie*, why were his successors unable to do the same? We are told (note 2 above) that Augustus systematically organized the young Roman citizens into *collegia iuvenum* to foster a military and loyal spirit among them. We are also told (p. 99) that these associations were never stronger or better-organized than under the emperors of the Julio-Claudian line. This seems a little inconsistent with the statement that Vespasian could get soldiers for the legions in Italy only among the proletariat, which suggests that the *collegia* were useless as recruiting agencies. Yet we are informed (p. 103) as something noteworthy "that under the Flavians the institution of the *collegia iuvenum*, the seminaries of future soldiers in Italy, was revived and spread all over the Western provinces." It is quite possible that an explanation may be found in the economic transformation going on in the provinces and in Italy, but it is not worked out clearly, and, to the reviewer at least, it is not so obvious as to require no elaboration. If when Italy was prosperous, agriculturally and industrially, the propertied class was ready to join the army, why was it less willing when Italy's prosperity declined? That the decline would tend to create an urban and rural proletariat is clear, but did it have no effect upon the *bourgeoisie*? If military service was "comparatively remunerative" "especially in the first years of Augustus' reign" (p. 42) and so attractive as to draw the young men of the better class, why did it not remain so? Did the cost of living rise, or did the service become less attractive for other reasons? That the composition of the legions materially changed between the reign of Augustus and that of Nero does not seem sufficiently proved by the cruelties of the civil wars of 69. Even the sack of Cremona hardly establishes beyond question the existence of

a growing enmity between the legionaries and the ruling class of Italy, since the failure of discipline resulting from the political situation might serve to account for it. That Vespasian turned to the provinces to recruit his army certainly calls for explanation, but is there clear evidence that he enlisted his soldiers from the provincial *bourgeoisie*? The spread of the *collegia iuvenum* does not seem quite sufficient to establish this, since their existence hardly proves that their members enlisted in the legions in considerable numbers, especially in view of what had happened under the Julio-Claudian emperors. If there is other evidence on the point, it is hidden in some note to which cross-references are lacking. In general the reviewer cannot help feeling that Professor Rostovtzeff has, at times, pushed the social and economic interpretation a little too far, and, in one or two instances, unconsciously molded the facts to fit his theory a little better than they really do. Thus he quite rightly rejects the idea that there was any sentiment of provincial separatism behind the civil wars of 69, but is it correct to say that the revolt of the army on the Rhine was due to indignation at the conduct of the praetorians in selling the imperial purple to Otho (pp. 84-5)? In fact the German legions revolted against Galba, and, therefore, the elevation of Otho to the throne can have had nothing to do with it. The slip may be due merely to inadvertence, but what follows suggests that it arose from Professor Rostovtzeff's conviction of the growing enmity between the legionaries and the Italian *bourgeoisie* represented by the praetorian guard.

These questions are not raised in any spirit of carping criticism, or intended necessarily to dispute the reality of the changes in the character of the army. The reviewer merely wishes to suggest that on this and some other points more light seems to him necessary before Professor Rostovtzeff's conclusions can be accepted definitely. This in no wise reflects upon the value of the book. Even if many of the author's views should ultimately be rejected or modified, it would still remain true that he has laid a foundation which will enormously facilitate further investigation. Professor Rostovtzeff himself is far from attempting to offer final solutions of all the complex problems that present themselves. He so frequently indicates points requiring further study and examination that, if we take account of his numerous differences with other eminent scholars and with generally received opinions, his book can serve to supply subjects for doctoral dissertations for a long time to come. He may, moreover, legiti-

mately claim the merit not only of having raised the questions but of having indicated the lines along which the solution must be sought. To the reviewer the book appears a most significant achievement wherein the wide vision and profound scholarship of the author have made available for others an immense mass of important material and have shown how it can be made to yield invaluable results for a real understanding of the ancient world. It seems hardly too much to hope that its appearance will pave the way to new studies from which a real history of the Roman empire will ultimately result.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

FRANK BURR MARSH

Greek Pottery. By CHARLES DUGAS. Translated from the French by W. A. THORPE. London: A. & C. Black, 1926. Pp. 148. Figs. 88. Pls. IV.

Masterpieces of Greek Drawing and Painting. By ERNST PFUHL. Translated from the German by J. D. BEAZLEY. New York: Macmillan, 1926. Pp. viii+150. Illustrations 160. \$10.50.

It is a pleasure to note the number of works that have appeared of late in English — both Anglo-Saxon products and translations of foreign books — treating of Greek pictorial art. The publication of the two volumes mentioned above will doubtless tend toward the popularization of the subject in England and America, and will serve as a valuable aid to the teacher of classical archaeology, who too frequently — except in the larger and better-equipped universities — labors under serious handicaps.

The handy and attractive little manual of M. Dugas appeared in French in 1924 (*La céramique grecque*, Paris). Its chief merits lie in its clarity of expression, its liveliness, and its straightforwardness and candor of statement. In his description of the various Greek ceramic wares, the author has, one thinks wisely, refrained from attempting a too elaborate catalogue of colors; indeed, he may be said to incline toward the subordination of all else to the matter of design. His historical treatment of the vases is above reproach, although one may marvel why a writer whose chief interest is concerned with the subject of drawing should have devoted but three lines of text to the beautiful and delicately ornamented Proto-Corinthian fabrics. On the other hand, we cannot speak too highly of his treatment of the difficult question of early Attic black-figure pottery.

There is an excellent introductory chapter, which deals mainly with the forms of the vases: these latter are well illustrated by drawings.

A later section, which has to do with the manufacture of pottery, is in the main satisfactory, though surely the time is ripe for authors who undertake to describe these technical processes to abandon the old use of the term "clay" — of this, that, or the other color. In every instance "biscuit" is clearly meant. We know almost nothing concerning the tints of ancient clays, but we do know that the nature of the "firing" determined the hue of the resultant biscuit. The "pinkish clay" of a fragment of Mycenaean pottery may easily be turned to brown or yellow — as the reviewer has himself observed — merely by varying the kiln processes.

M. Dugas's descriptions of the painted scenes on Athenian wares are spirited and generally accurate, though occasionally his imagination carries him astray. Of this there are two notable instances. With regard to the wrestling contest between Heracles and Antaeus which Euphronius painted on the famous krater in the Louvre, he remarks (p. 89): "With his arms the hero is encircling the neck of his adversary, who is gasping for breath." But Heracles is, after all, using a rather poor hold — a sort of combination head-chancery and half-nelson, which puts no pressure whatsoever on the windpipe. Again, in speaking of the scene on the well-known Munich cup, which shows the killing of Penthesilea by Achilles, Dugas remarks (p. 97): "No praise is too high for the expression of amazement and admiration which suddenly seizes the features" of the latter. This is a bit of pure Gallic sentimentalism. That small portion of the visage of the hero not covered by his helmet expresses to the more prosaic eye nothing more interesting than dull savagery. The position of the right leg of the Amazon, on which the author comments with approval, is rightly explained by Pfuhl on the basis of a survival of archaic conventionality.

These, at worst, are but small faults, and may even tend to stimulate the interest of the reader. But unfortunately the fourth chapter of the book contains an atmosphere which is redolent of dead and discarded ideas. In his treatment of the development of style with the red-figure painters of Athens, our author fails utterly to distinguish potter from decorator, and he thus throws us back into the chaos which existed in the earlier years of the century. That is to say, he has apparently altogether disregarded the work of Professor Beazley and his school. It seems impossible to understand why M. Dugas should thus have slighted the efforts of a scholar who has completely dominated his field during the past decade, whose methods are un-

questionably sound, and whose findings are accepted by all but a very few extreme conservatives.

During the past three years, professional archaeologists have enjoyed the privilege of using the monumental three-volume work, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (Munich, 1923), by Professor Ernst Pfuhl, of Basle. The present book, well and tastefully translated by Professor Beazley, supplies a need long felt by the English-speaking student. It provides, that is, a substantial means for carrying on studies in the field of Hellenic painting in general, a subject of which all too little is known. Apart altogether from the question of text, the 160 reproductions, which have been judiciously selected from the 800 plates of Pfuhl's larger work, furnish in themselves a compendium of the history of Greek and Graeco-Roman pictorial art from the eighth century down to comparatively late Imperial times. Naturally enough, the bulk of these show Greek vase-paintings, Pompeian frescoes and mosaics, and Graeco-Egyptian mummy-portraits; but we see also representations of sarcophagus-paintings, drawings on mirror-cases and on ivory, the tomb-painting, or rather, in its present state, drawing, of the Theban Mnason, and the well-known painting of the female head in the tomb-chamber of Corneto.

Were we to omit the Preface, we might find the Introduction entirely disappointing. It covers but a few pages and prepares us for the Commentary which fills the rest of the text. This is made up of a happy blending of description, criticism, interpretation, and art-history, and behind it all we hear the voice of the master. Professor Pfuhl credits the Romans with but little in the matter of the Pompeian paintings; in his eyes they are Greek no less in execution than in conception. He thus allies himself with the school which essentially denies to the Romans any sort of artistic inspiration or ability. The question of "Roman or Greek in Roman times" is one destined to be long disputed — perhaps never decided.

ALFRED UNIVERSITY

A. D. FRASER

Cicero in seinen Werken und Briefen. By OTTO PLASBERG. Herausgegeben von DR. WILHELM AX. Das Erbe der Alten, Heft XI. Leipzig: Dietrich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1926. Pp. 180.

This book, originally delivered as a lecture in Hamburg 1923-1924, was published after the author's death. At the request of Mrs. Plasberg it has been edited by Dr. Ax, who is responsible for the titles of the chapters, the marginal notes, and the index.

The material is divided as follows: Preface (pp. v-vi), Table of contents (pp. vii-ix), Introduction (pp. 1-2), Survey of Cicero's works and letters (pp. 3-32), Cicero's youth and early activity (pp. 33-45), Journey to Greece and to Asia Minor (pp. 46-55), Cicero as an office holder of the Roman people (pp. 56-75), The period after the consulship and the time of exile (pp. 76-85), Gradual submission to the Triumvirs (pp. 86-95), Literary activity (pp. 96-143), From the governorship in Cilicia to the end of his life (pp. 144-172), Index rerum (pp. 173-175), Index of names (pp. 176-178), Index of passages quoted (pp. 179-180).

This book deals with Cicero the man and the phases of his life so inseparably associated with the political, social, and cultural history of his times. The biographical portion serves only as a setting for a rich account of the development of the mental and spiritual qualities of the man, both inherited and acquired, which "eben das im höchsten Sinne Menschliche in ihm <Cicero> ausmachen" (p. 32). In other words this book aims to portray the human element in the character of Cicero, with his good and his poor qualities alike, his emotions, his sympathies, etc. This object is attained by allowing Cicero to speak for himself by means of quotations from his works, especially from the letters, the psychological value of which is fully appreciated. It is pleasant to note that while scrutinizing the works of Cicero for information the author is far from employing the method of either Drumann or Mommsen. And so we find no case made out against Cicero, and no indictment formulated; but his faults, while not white-washed, are balanced by his sterling qualities.

Boissier in his excellent book, *Cicero and his Friends*, ascribes Cicero's downfall to the moderation for which he had to pay the penalty. Moderation, however, can be viewed as both virtue and ideal. In Plasberg's opinion (p. 75) Cicero lacked the courage to throw his ideals overboard, just as he had not the persistence to live up to them; and thus the fact that he had ideals at all caused his downfall. If, then, we regard Cicero's moderation as an ideal, the opinions of the two scholars almost coincide.

On the whole the author has performed successfully his task of doing justice to the personality of Cicero and has even found space to discuss Cicero's significance for future generations. The charming simplicity of style makes a direct appeal to the reader. These qualities, together with Plasberg's scholarship, are a guarantee of the value of the book.

JACOB HAMMER

HUNTER COLLEGE

Recent Books

[Compiled by Joseph W. Hewitt, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.]

- Aesop. Fables.* Illustrated by M. M. HOWARD. London: Lane, 1926. Pp. 144. 2s. 6d.
- AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION. *Transactions and Proceedings*; Vol. 56 (1925). Edited by JOSEPH WILLIAM HEWITT. Middletown, Connecticut, 1926. Pp. 267+cxv. \$3.50.
- Aristophanes. Scenes from "The Birds."* With introduction, notes, vocabulary, etc., by W. H. OLDAKER. Cambridge University Press, 1926. Pp. 92. 2s. 6d.
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